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ABSTRACT

This is the second of eight volumes consisting of series of publications of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA), such as Notes and Essays, Research Reports, Occasional Papers, and Conference Reports. These materials provide both theory and practice in the area of non-credit adult liberal education offered by colleges and universities. This volume contains numbers 27-28, 31, 33-34, 39, 42, 45 and 46 in the series, Notes and Essays on Education for Adults. 1960-65. Titles include (1) A Report on University Adult Education in Australia and New Zealand: (2) Aims in Adult Education--I: A Realist View: (3) Adult Education in the British West Indies: (4) People, Programs, and Persuasion: Some Remarks About Promoting University Adult Education: (5) Today and Tomorrow: Three Essays on Adult Education in the Future: (6) The Meanings of Work: (7) Ordered Pluralism: a Philosophic Plan of Action for Teaching: (8) Meaning and Metaphor: On Teaching Human Values Through Poetry at a Steelworkers Institute: and (9) A Live Option: The Future of the Evening College (5 essays). (YLB)

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CSLEA

Volume 2

Notes & Essays: 1960-1965

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Preface

In the two decades following World War II there was a surge of movement in the field of adult education. Among the exciting developments was the interest in liberal adult education which was encouraged and substantially supported by the Fund for Adult Education. The F.A.E. in return provided leadership and financial support to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The primary concern of CSLEA was to provide leadership and specific assistance by resources to colleges and universities to assist them in developing non credit programs in the area of liberal education for adults. During the period the staff initiated and often conducted many seminars and workshops. They also provided consultative services to colleges and universities as they developed programs in liberal education for adults.

Another contribution was the publication of series such as Notes & Essays, Reports, and Occasional Papers. The publications are generally accepted by educators of adults -- nationally and internationally -- as being some of the finest in terms of both theory and practice.

Many publications are now out-of-print and indeed in some cases even our copy is difficult to locate. The requests for copies of CSLEA and other statements are frequently received. Accordingly copies of these documents have been collected and compiled into several volumes. A copy of each volume is being sent to ERIC for their distribution. In this way these valuable publications may be made available to practitioners as well as researchers in adult and continuing education.

Mr. Ralph Brockett and Mrs. B. J. Vaughn have been particularly helpful and diligent in preparing these volumes.

Alexander N. Charters

May, 1980

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**A REPORT ON
UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION
IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND**

PAUL H. SHEATS

Dean, University Extension, University of California

CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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(Continued on inside back cover)

THE CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the inside covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

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FOREWORD

The preparation of this report was made possible through a leave of absence granted by the Board of Regents of the University of California and the assistance of the Fund for Adult Education. The contents of the report are based on information and impressions gained by the author during five weeks in Australia, in the course of which visits were made to the universities at Sydney, Armidale, Canberra, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth. The New Zealand references are based on a ten-day visit during which the writer met with the directors of adult education from Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin but actually visited the universities in only the first three of these locations. The period during which these visits took place was from February 21 to April 6, 1959.

While primary attention was focused on the university programs in the field of liberal adult education, an effort was made wherever possible to explore interrelationships between the universities and other major agencies of adult education. Moreover, at the request of the National University Extension Association, some time was devoted at each center visited to exploring the feasibility of an international association for adult education which would include representation of the British Commonwealth countries and the United States.

The complete itinerary included approximately three weeks in South Africa, a brief visit to England, and attendance at a meeting of UNESCO's Consultative Committee on Adult Education in Paris. Data from these visits are not included in this report.

The safest generalization to be made in this report has to do with the unfailing courtesy and generous hospitality with which we were received throughout the journey. No request for information was ignored, views were fully exchanged, and problems and issues faced up to frankly and openly. There can be little doubt as to the vigor and vitality of a movement whose spokesmen welcome so

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Foreword

eagerly the occasion presented by a visitor from abroad to discuss the past, present, and future of university adult education. The process of intercommunication was aided, of course, by a common language and a common ancestry and tradition. Major differences there are in our present systems of university adult education, but they become minor when set beside the more basic agreements as to the nature of the good society and the functions of a university.

It must also be recorded that even the most careful scrutiny of documentary sources is no substitute for the face-to-face communication which occurs during a study tour of the type covered in this report. The printed word is only one medium of communication, and the more subtle forms of expression which operate in any interpersonal or group relationship certainly augmented the learning of this observer and underscored in his mind the importance of an expanded program of exchange, particularly among professional adult educators in the Commonwealth countries.

The usual injunction to readers of this report should be stated. Because of the short duration of the study tour, there are most certainly some errors of fact which have become imbedded in my notes; and there are views and interpretive comments expressed which reflect the author's own predilections and biases. Insofar as these may reflect adversely on the views and programs reported to me, my apologies are offered herewith. Obviously, no blame should thereby attach to the Fund for Adult Education, or to my many informants, to all of whom I express my most sincere appreciation.

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults by undertaking the publication of this report has made possible a wider distribution than originally expected. My thanks go to the Center Staff and particularly to Marilyn Vaughan for undertaking this task.

PAUL H. SHEATS

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I COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHIES

No observer familiar with the diversity of views in the United States as to the definition, functions, and proper scope of adult education and more particularly the role of the university in the total field should be surprised that actively contested differences of view on these matters should be reflected in all the sections of this report. A few general observations regarding the historical influences and philosophical assumptions affecting adult education in Australia and New Zealand may serve to introduce the more specific comparative data in subsequent parts of this report.

Both countries, for example, were influenced by the missionary efforts of the founder of the Workers Education Association, Dr. Albert Mansbridge. In 1913, ten years after the WEA was established in Britain, Mansbridge visited Australia and promulgated the WEA concept of adult education so effectively that every state within the Commonwealth, with the possible exception of Western Australia, still shows the effects of what must have been one of the most successful proselytizing jobs in the history of adult education.¹ New Zealand also followed the English model quite literally and from 1915, when the WEA of New Zealand was established, until the creation of the National Council of Adult Education in 1947, New Zealand operated through the joint tutorial class committee structure that is such a characteristic feature of the WEA scheme.

University adult education in the United States was, of course, also influenced by British experience but escaped to an indigenous form rather early, whereas the WEA approach has persisted at the University of Sydney to the present day. It could even be said that

¹ There are some among my informants who might perhaps view the results of Mansbridge's visit as an argument against professional exchanges across national boundaries, but, having been so recently a beneficiary of such exchange, I do not subscribe to this view.

the ideals of the founder of the movement are upheld most religiously not in England, where the movement began, but in New South Wales.² While the relationships between the WEA and the universities will be explained in more detail in Section IV, it must be underscored here that the current differences in philosophy and practice in both Australia and New Zealand cannot be understood without reference to the movement's early beginnings and the dominant role of the WEA.

~~For example~~, the term "adult education" itself carries a connotation in Australia and New Zealand much narrower than in the United States. With us, it covers all organized educational programs for adults ranging from literacy classes to advanced seminars in the theory of games. Even when applied to the universities, it includes credit as well as non-credit instruction, professional and vocational courses, certificate programs, community development activities, public lectures, audio-visual services, educational television, etc. This is not the case in the countries visited. University adult education is non-vocational and non-credit. It is still predominantly concerned with the content in the fields of the liberal and humanistic studies. It must be differentiated from university extension, which, for example, at Sydney is administered by a separate department and serves professional groups with tailor-made programs as well as the general public with university lectures. Even in the newer departments, as at Armidale and Adelaide, the non-credit feature is a universal characteristic.

The current differences in philosophy and practice raise many of the same issues which we in the United States face, but the context within which these issues are debated varies because of the historical circumstances reported above. Thus a central issue in both New Zealand and Australia arises over the degree to which the traditional view of university adult education shall now be modified in the light of changing socio-economic needs. The annual report of the National Council of Adult Education for 1957-58 reports that, in fact, there has been a very great extension of activity "into realms that might formerly have been regarded as falling outside the program." The report goes on to point out that what was originally a workers' movement has become a program "supple-

² See, e.g., S. G. Rayboul, *Trends in Adult Education* (London, 1959), chap. 1.

menting the educational experience, not of a particular group or class of people, but of all sections of the community." But the implementation of this view is in the hands of a professional staff among whom this visitor found a refreshing diversity of views. How broad should the programs of the regional councils become? Broad enough to include professional courses at the postgraduate level? Broad enough to include on the staff of the department of adult education community consultants to aid citizen groups in problem-solving activities? If these kinds of additional responsibilities are embraced, what happens to the quality and quantity of those more traditional activities in the field of liberal adult education?

These questions are appropriate to Australia as well. The director of tutorial classes at the University of Sydney dealt with them most thoughtfully when he wrote following my visit: "While recognizing the importance of developing the Extension side [of our program] more effectively, . . . I should regard it as a retrogressive step if the price of increasing Extension were to be a halt in the expansion, or a restriction, in the work done in the liberal studies field. There is no inherent reason why expansion in the area should halt or diminish the work of the other—but it is a risk that, I feel, should be guarded against." Wilson goes on to say that the meeting of the more obvious practical needs enlists popular support more readily and may predispose those administratively responsible to neglect the liberal studies. And why must this possible result be a matter of concern? The letter continues: "I view with apprehension some of the effects of increasing specialization in education . . . unless a proportion of those who so engage themselves also grapple with some of the basic values that underpin our society."

Nor can this be done through what Wilson calls the "Reader's Digest" approach to liberal studies. We must help adults "to make their aim" the values that underlie our cultural traditions and the making of a democratic society. "Unless this is done," he continues, "I doubt if these values, or the society they underpin, can survive the confusions produced by rapid changes in our conditions of living and the assaults of hucksters who, if they do not actively despise these values, at least contrive to obscure and muddy them."

It is most unlikely that the other directors with whom I visited would deny the cogency of this position, but there would be considerable support for the view that there are many ways of "skinning this particular cat." The director at Armidale, for example, believes that it is not only appropriate for but incumbent on his university to help adults "cope with the personal, vocational, community, and domestic problems with which they must grapple in this day-to-day living in an increasingly complex world." While preserving the values which are inherent in the liberal arts, tutorial-class approach, his program reveals a major effort to provide community development services to the rural communities which make up his constituency.

The director at Adelaide has spelled out the responsibilities of the university in adult education in such terms as to include "liberal, social, and technical studies at a relatively high academic level," the development of experimental programs, the training of community leaders, and the provision of assistance to voluntary organizations in broadening the range and raising the quality of the educational work they undertake. In Auckland, Melbourne, and at Perth major emphasis is placed on the arts as the most favorable medium for developing both appreciation and creative participation. It might be hazarded that all, without damning the tutorial-class approach, would agree that there are many doors into the courtyard of the liberal studies and the values which derive from the study thereof.

But as those of us in the United States who have had good and sufficient reason to know how marginal the university's commitment to liberal adult education really is, these issues on the Australian and New Zealand scene are not to be dismissed lightly or glossed over with any superficial appearance of unanimity. The view most dominantly held at Sydney is unquestionably influenced by the fact that the WEA is most active in that area. The metropolitan secretary in New South Wales, Mr. G. Shipp, has recently outlined his own views, which I found to be shared by at least a majority of the tutorial staff at the university. He attacks "the social problem solving approach" in adult education in an article "Goombridgism and Education" in the *Australian Highway* for

December, 1958. His article is a rebuttal to Brian Goombridge's statement on "New Objectives for Adult Education."³ Shipp rejects as inappropriate to the University and as in fact non-educational the effort to use adult education as an instrument for problem-solving. He describes why a program jointly sponsored by the WEA must oppose this approach to adult education and preserve the purity of the educational process.

It may be argued that the resolution of these differences in philosophy is of no great practical importance to the future development of adult education in Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand, as the subsequent sections of this report will reveal, they do permeate and influence the day-to-day administrative and program-making decisions of the professional corps on which any further growth depends. For this reason, as well as on theoretical grounds, they cannot be ignored.

³ Published by the National Institute of Adult Education in *Adult Education* (London), Winter, 1957, and reprinted in part in the *Australian Highway*, July, 1958.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION AND FISCAL SUPPORT

This section might most logically be directed at those who are themselves administrators of adult education enterprises. On the other hand, the institutionalization of adult education reveals itself primarily in administrative structure and in the provision of a fiscal base for the operation. Whether form follows function or vice versa, the interrelationship between program and structure is a close one; and the philosophical issues discussed in Section I do come to a focus in the making of decisions regarding both administrative organization and fiscal support.

In this connection it may be helpful to keep in mind Charles Horton Cooley's theory of the institutional cycle, noting, as he does, that the social structures created to meet individual and social needs tend to achieve rather rapidly a degree of formalism and a tendency toward self-perpetuation as ends in themselves. It is a trait of administrators, not peculiar to the countries visited, to develop excessive fondness for the administrative structures and procedural devices which they themselves helped to create and to attach to these traditional ways an almost supernatural quality of "goodness." Cooley's point, therefore, has general relevance to this section. Unless the institutional forms developed in response to social need are subjected to continuous evaluation and review in the light of changes in the society they are designed to serve, there will most certainly be new institutions developed to meet new needs; and the old forms will disappear or be subjected to gradual disintegration and declining influence.

Both New Zealand and Australia provide a wonderfully exciting social laboratory in which to study these processes of social change and adaptation; there is much that adult educators from the United States can learn from the new patterns which are emerging from these efforts.

NEW ZEALAND

The administrative pattern now operating in New Zealand has been tested over an eleven-year period and seems to have been quite successful in achieving a workable blend of past experience with opportunity for innovation and experimentation. The National Council of Adult Education was established in 1947 following the report of a National Consultative Committee on "Further Education for Adults." The functions of the National Council are (1) to promote and foster adult education and the cultivation of the arts; (2) to recommend to the minister of education the amount of the annual grant to be requested from the Parliament; and (3) "to receive and administer and control the expenditure of all moneys granted to the Council as aforesaid."

The National Council works with and through regional councils attached to the university colleges in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.¹ The professional staffs engaged in the development and management of program activities are under the direction of these regional councils. The members of the regional councils are appointed by the college councils (governing boards) in the district and operate under powers delegated by the college councils. Important to an American's understanding of this arrangement is that the college councils contain faculty representatives as well as lay members and that both the National Council and the regional councils contain university representatives, Workers Education Association representation, and representatives of other citizen organizations.

It is this observer's impression that the relationships between the national council and the regional councils are harmonious and co-operative. This happy situation is aided by the fact that the national executive secretary is himself a former regional director and that the regional councils are all represented on the national

¹ The ship's newspaper on the "Winchester Castle" for April 30 during our voyage from Capetown to Southampton carried a brief story from Wellington quoting the New Zealand minister of education, Mr. Skoglund, in an announcement of the establishment of two new universities, one at Hamilton, south of Auckland, and the other at Palmerston North in the Wellington area. On the basis of my own discussions with the minister and with other officials, it would not appear likely that this new development will disturb the present regional council system. In fact, the working plans for the Palmerston North campus envisaged a much closer integration of extramural and intramural staff than has been possible on the parent campus at Wellington.

body. There is some tendency to uniformity, especially in the requests to the government for new funds. If Region A requests a special grant, other regions may be influenced to make the same request so as to preserve some kind of over-all balance in the grants to the regions. But there is considerable autonomy and diversity within the regional departments, and the steady growth in state grants attests to the effectiveness of the system. (The National Council budget in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1958, was in excess of £123,000.)

Note that under this system the regional councils, while appointed by and responsible to the college councils, do not secure their funds through the college budgets. In the view of some of my informants this arrangement, while it avoids competition for funds between intramural departments and adult education, does contribute to the marginality of the adult education program with the colleges. As a matter of fact, the report of the Consultative Committee in 1947 envisaged the eventual establishment of autonomous local adult education councils with university representation but independent of university control.

Arnold Hely, a New Zealander and recently appointed director at Adelaide, South Australia, in a paper on the university and adult education in New Zealand suggests that the experience of the last ten years demonstrates the importance of direct university involvement and control and argues against the separation of functions initially recommended. While this visitor found no current demand for separation from the colleges, there was some evidence that the kind of academic controls and continuing supervision which are characteristic of university extension divisions in the United States do not operate very effectively in New Zealand, even though provision for them may exist on paper. From the point of view of the directors, this is, of course, not an unmixed evil, since it assures broad discretionary power and wide latitude in the development of programs. Moreover, since all the adult education work is non-credit, academic control is perhaps not so important as in the United States.

Nevertheless, as at least one vice-chancellor saw the problem, there is some logic in arguing that, if the colleges are to have the responsibility for insuring the appropriateness and quality of the

adult education work undertaken by the regional councils, there should be wider faculty involvement and participation both in policy-making and in program execution. It is some indication of the power which attaches to control of the purse strings that the relationships to the university colleges have apparently degenerated as the power of the National Council has increased; and it was pointed out to me that a recent national report on university education in New Zealand did not even mention the responsibility of the university for adult education or the work of the regional councils.

Central to this problem in New Zealand, and in much of Australia as well, is the fact that in these countries large numbers of part-time students (65 per cent of the student body at Auckland), many of them with full-time jobs, who in the United States would constitute a large segment of university extension credit-work clientele, are counted as regular students in residence. It may not be too wide of the mark to point out that, as the pressure on faculty and facilities becomes heavier because of rapidly rising enrolments, the advantages of using the adult education facilities to develop credit offerings for part-time adult students may become obvious. This development, if it should occur, would most certainly lead to closer integration of the universities with adult education departments.

Finally, in connection with the fiscal aspects of the New Zealand operation, the chief support of the regional programs is from state grants. Low student fees are collected; but at least in Auckland and Wellington, where a check was made, the income from fees constitutes only 11 per cent of the total budget—a sharp contrast with the University of California, for example, where last year 84 per cent of the total budget came from sources other than state appropriations.

what sources?

AUSTRALIA

It is impossible to describe a national administrative pattern for university adult education in Australia as has just been done for New Zealand. It is difficult to make a single generalization which is true for all the states in the Commonwealth. Professional staffs range in number from three to twenty. Some departments operate through functional subdepartments with clear-cut line relation-

ships; others combine tutorial and administrative duties in the same staff. Some departments operate through area suboffices in charge of resident tutors; others maintain a single administrative office on or near campus. But, as previously pointed out, the differences in structure reflect differences in historical background and philosophy, and the main features of university adult education in each of the states visited can be set down.

Within New South Wales there are currently three active university departments carrying on adult education work, with prospects that an additional department at the recently established University of New South Wales (in Sydney) may be created in the near future. The current departments are: the Department of Tutorial Classes and the University Extension Board, both at the University of Sydney, and the Department of Adult Education at New England University in Armidale. The University of Sydney Tutorial Class Department is the sole remaining example in Australia of the British University Workers Education Association prototype imported in 1914, in which policy is determined by a joint committee representing both the university and the WEA. The WEA in New South Wales is an active and vigorous body and works closely with the University of Sydney not only in the metropolitan areas but in the off-campus centers in the Hunter Valley at Newcastle and at Illawarra.

The Department of Tutorial Classes operates through the activities of central and regional staff tutors, all of whom carry both administrative and tutorial responsibilities; and there is heavy emphasis on academic qualifications of staff members. No tutor is appointed without joint committee approval and consultation with the appropriate faculty of the university. Structurally, the department is organized around tutorial classes, discussion box courses, the "Kits Scheme" and through week-end and summer schools for which the WEA residential center at Newport is used extensively. More will be said about these activities in the next section of this report.

The department is the chief beneficiary of state support through grants recommended by the Adult Education Advisory Board for New South Wales. Almost half of the department's total budget of £52,000 comes from this source and less than 10 per cent from

fees. The balance is appropriated to the department in the university budget.

The Sydney University Extension Board operates a completely separate program from that of the Department of Tutorial Classes. There are separate policy boards with some token effort at coordination through representation of the directors as ex officio members of the respective policy boards. The boards' stated aim is to bring "university teaching within the reach of men and women who are unable to attend the University." It arranges short courses, postgraduate courses, and lectures to accomplish this purpose. Although it operates under a university budget, its current program has been fiscally so successful, largely because of the popularity of courses in management training, that it has been able to turn back the university appropriations. The board consists of twenty members appointed by the University Senate, six of whom are from the teaching faculties of the university.

There is some sentiment within the university for the establishment of a single extramural department and a single director with authority over the existing Department of Tutorial Classes and Extension Board programs. Resistance to this change might be predicted unless the reorganization can be accomplished without weakening the WEA-related tutorial class program.

Historically, the University of Sydney has had responsibility for the whole of New South Wales and, in fact, through agreement with the University of Melbourne, for a branch in the Australian Capital Territory as well. However, the creation of a department of adult education at the University of New England in Armidale in 1954, the pending proposal for autonomous status for Canberra University College with its own director of adult education, and the probability that the new University of New South Wales in Kensington will develop its own adult education program will in fact result in a division of responsibilities among these various institutions. The director at Armidale has already established four district offices within the northern section of New South Wales and is, with the full support of New England University and its Adult Education Committee appointed by the University Council, branching out into a variety of educational services not now or formerly provided by the University of Sydney.

Although in comparison with Sydney, New England's Department of Adult Education receives relatively little state support, £3,000 against £25,000, the university supplements this with an additional £12,000, and the beneficiaries of the program appear to be willing to underwrite the costs to a greater degree than at Sydney (£10,000 from student fees at Armidale, £5,000 at Sydney).

Furthermore, the fact that residential facilities on campus are available at Armidale during the summer months has provided an opportunity for the development of residential courses that have proved both educationally and fiscally successful. (Daily rates to students for tuition, board, and room in these summer programs were £2/5 shillings, of which about £1 went to cover the operating costs of the educational program.) It should be noted, also, that all the organizing work at Armidale is done under the auspices of a university committee and in co-operation with a variety of community organizations rather than through the University-WEA Joint Committee device. In fact, the organizational structure of New England University is more comparable to Adelaide and Western Australia than it is to Sydney.

The University of Adelaide's participation in adult education began in 1914 along the classic lines of the Sydney operation. However, the absence of a full-time director over an extended period created a hiatus from which finally emerged a decision by the university in 1955 to reactivate a department of adult education with a long-term commitment to provide a more adequate budget.²

The newly appointed director, Mr. A. S. M. Hely, made a careful study of the situation in South Australia³ and recommended in 1957 the establishment of a board of adult education appointed by and responsible to the University Council. The board, made operative in 1958, included representatives from the university, the WEA, the State Department of Education, the Public Library

² A fuller story of these developments as well as those in other Australian states is contained in a monograph by Professor Fred Alexander of the University of Western Australia. The monograph is now in press, and, although I was privileged to read it in manuscript, space in this report does not permit the numerous quotations which the document merits. I would express my appreciation to Professor Alexander for permitting me to see an advance copy and recommend it to the readers of this report.

³ Available in mimeographed form from the author under the title "The University and Adult Education."

Board, and the Country Women's Association. This structure replaced the old Department of Tutorial Classes with a more broadly conceived Department of Adult Education and ended the traditional WEA-university arrangement.

The department is currently operating on an annual budget of approximately £22,000, of which about £8,000 is derived from student fees, the balance from state support. The WEA continues to co-operate with the university and also conducts its own program, of which more will be said in Section IV.

Western Australia, as has already been pointed out, was least affected by the Australian importation of the WEA tutorial class system. The WEA was never very strong or effective in Western Australia, and the present system initiated in 1929 provided for an adult education board appointed by the University Senate with currently a full-time director at professorial level and a staff including a deputy director, tutor-organizer, librarian, business officer, and clerical assistants. (The current budget is about £52,000, of which almost half is earned income.)

The organizational picture in Victoria is radically different from any of those thus far described and in a technical sense really falls outside the scope of this report in its concentration on university adult education.⁴ However, the implications of the Victorian model for the role of the university are certainly relevant and must be assayed.

Conflict between the University of Melbourne and the WEA in the 1920's and 1930's led to university support for a new approach, as spelled out in the Adult Education Act of 1946 (amended and re-enacted in 1957). This act created a statutory body, under the Minister of Education but independent of the State Department of Education, known as the Council of Adult Education. The director of adult education is appointed by the cabinet for a five-year term on recommendation of the council. The council consists of not more than twenty members, of whom four are ex officio, including the vice-chancellor of the University of Melbourne. The functions of the council are: (1) to advise the Minister of Education; (2) to report on methods and developments in adult education which

⁴ Although I did not have the opportunity of visiting Tasmania, I was told that the administrative organization was most similar to the one in Victoria.

should be introduced into Victoria; and (3) to plan and supervise the administration and development of adult education in Victoria. To carry out these functions, the council is empowered to organize and conduct in its own name, or in collaboration with other bodies, lectures, classes, vacation schools, and other activities; to charge and receive fees; and to do such acts and things as are necessary for carrying out the intent of the law.

In consequence of this broad grant of authority the council has developed an extensive program with an annual budget in excess of £100,000. Slightly more than half of this budget comes from state grants; the balance is from fees and earned income.

In lieu of a WEA, the council has sponsored a voluntary student Adult Education Association, which is represented on the council and performs some of the liaison and organizing functions assumed by the WEA in the more traditional pattern.

[A strong theoretical case can be made for the kind of administrative organization represented in the Victorian council. It is broadly representative of all adult education agencies, public and private. In consequence, it should be able to do an over-all assessment of needs which would insure a well-rounded program of educational opportunities at the adult level. It can reduce the risks of overlapping among different agencies and assure co-ordination of efforts. Through its affiliation with large and powerful citizen groups, it can develop a constituency which will have sufficient political strength to insure continuing and adequate state support.

It would not be appropriate for a foreign observer to pass Olympian judgment as to whether, in fact, the Victorian council has achieved these ends. But certain consequences as regards the effect of this pattern on university participation can be identified. The director of the council, Mr. Colin Badger, has himself stated that the CAE is not equipped to offer the kinds of educational services which only the university has the resources to provide. He has recently addressed a memorandum to the University of Melbourne Extension Committee (limited now in its operations chiefly to the provision of off-campus lectures) calling for the development of an expanded university extension department which would work with the council in areas of subject matter for which the university is best equipped to provide instruction. He recommends expansion of

professional programs, short-term courses, summer and vacation schools, conferences, and seminars as properly within the university's jurisdiction and identifies the need for subject-matter offerings in history, philosophy, and the humanities as particularly acute.

On the basis of conferences with the Extension Committee and various officials at the University of Melbourne it appears that these recommendations are receiving serious consideration and that some positive action is likely to be forthcoming in the near future. The point for an outside observer is, however, that an experiment in which a major university abandoned its primary and major responsibility for adult education has proved to be lacking in the full achievement of its objectives without this participation. The intellectual resources of the university would seem to be, therefore, an indispensable element in any well-rounded program of adult education.⁵

⁵ To round out the Australian story, it should be mentioned that Queensland (not visited by this writer) operates its adult education program through a board under the direct authority and control of the State Education Department. The executive is known as a supervisor, and no fees may be charged for services provided.

III

PROGRAMS

Regarding program activities, somewhat more generalizing is possible than in the preceding section. As will be pointed out, similarities among the various programs observed frequently highlight differences between the United States and the countries visited. On the other hand, differences in approach and in emphasis among the regional councils of New Zealand and in the various Australian states are sufficiently noteworthy to require special mention. Particular attention was directed toward programs in the area of liberal adult education, since the study of these activities was a major objective of the study tour.

There is, for example, the clear preference in all departments visited for the non-credit type of offering. This is not only a matter of reversing the proportion of credit and non-credit offerings typical of university extension programs in the United States; it amounts to an outright rejection of the credit pattern as inappropriate to the objectives sought. The gist of the argument seems to be that students motivated by credit considerations are either in the category of degree candidates or vocationally oriented, in either of which cases they are not the target group toward which the university's adult education effort should be directed.

This prevailing attitude helps to explain the dominant role of the liberal arts and the humanities. Even in departments which are taking a broader view of the university's responsibilities, the claim is always made and without exaggeration that this is being done without weakening the effort in the liberal studies. A conservative estimate would be that on the average about 75 per cent of the programs observed could be called "liberal," again roughly the reverse ratio of what one might find in the United States.

These estimates are based on a fairly strict interpretation of the word "liberal." In fact, at Sydney the view would be, in case of doubt as to the liberal qualities of a proposed class, to let some other agency do the job. This is reflected in other centers where

responsibility for the offering of language training courses, for example, is allocated to the WEA. On the other hand, there were many concerns expressed as to the haziness of the line between "liberal" and "vocational" and rather general agreement that in the final analysis whether a given educational experience is "liberating" or not depends on the motivations of the learner and the competence of the tutor as well as the intrinsic nature of the subject matter being studied.

There is also a wide range in the criteria which are applied in justifying the "liberal" label. Is exposure to a single lecture on *Macbeth* a liberating experience? Does passive enjoyment of a dramatic production have the elements of an effective learning situation? Is a discussion-box course on public speaking with or without a corresponding tutor likely to create in the student a deeper understanding of our intellectual heritage and the values underlying a free society? No invidious intent underlies the raising of these questions, but the fact that they can be appropriately asked even in the favorable climate of the Commonwealth countries "down under" serves to dramatize the difficulties of definition and interpretation.

Both Australia and New Zealand have been influenced by the tutorial class concept, which has some fifty years of English experience behind it. Basically, the tutorial class as adapted to adult education use implied a combination of lecture and discussion with class size not to exceed thirty, continuity of work ideally over a three-year period, and primary reliance upon the subject matter of the humanities and the social sciences. It is significant that in Britain as well as in Australia and New Zealand many of these traditional features of the tutorial class are in process of modification, and it is not always clear as to the criteria which are being substituted in the effort to insure high quality and objective evaluation of learning results.¹

It may also be stated by way of general comment that there is considerably more reliance on schemes for stimulating self-directed education in Australia and New Zealand than in the United States. The discussion-box courses, the kit scheme at Sydney, the degree program in the Department of External Studies at the University of

¹ See S. G. Raybould, *Trends in Adult Education* (London, 1959), chap. iii.

New England, and the general willingness to serve, often at long distances, any individual who seeks a planned program of self-education reflect a respect for the potentialities of the individual learner and a kind of institutional flexibility which are to be commended.

There is also a general recognition of the values of residential programs. While these may be known as vacation schools, week-end schools, seminars, or conferences, they have in common the deliberate intent to concentrate a learning experience in a setting where the distractions of the back-home situation can be reduced to a minimum. There is a rather general demand for more and better facilities in which to schedule such types of programs, but the pressure on campus facilities during the summer months appears to be considerably less than in the United States, with the result that more programs of a residential type can be scheduled.

One further general comment should be made. On the whole, our colleagues in Australia and New Zealand have been more successful than we have in the development of programs in the arts. Even in areas where travel distances are considerable there is an impressive job being done in making available to the country districts good music, ballet, theater, and art. In every instance where these programs were studied, and particularly in Auckland, Victoria, and Western Australia, the effort was deliberately planned to promote and encourage participative as well as passive learning activities. Further reference will be made to these programs later in the report.

Against this backdrop of general observations certain specific features of the programs observed should be noted. This is a somewhat hazardous undertaking, and a certain charitableness is respectfully requested especially from those readers who know the range of program activities in these countries more thoroughly than does this commentator. Sins of omission and perhaps of commission are almost inevitable; but these are the special features my notes reveal.

NEW ZEALAND

The annual reports of the National Council² give detailed infor-

² Published at National Council of Adult Education Headquarters, 192 Tinakori Road, Wellington, New Zealand.

mation and statistics on the programs of the regional councils. No attempt will be made here to reproduce these facts except as they may seem to throw light on current trends. Tutorial classes are still a major feature of the New Zealand programs, but there is considerable flexibility in the interpretation of what content is appropriate to these classes and their duration. Special audiences are being identified and served more frequently. Classes are organized for schoolteachers, parents, management groups, police officers, etc., and content useful to these groups in their professional vocational roles is included. On the whole, the classes of longer duration are increasing in number, owing partly to the fact, no doubt, that some of the needs formerly met in the shorter courses are now being taken care of in the increasingly popular week-end school. The advantages of this device are obvious, especially for the country areas. It is quite possible to organize a team of instructors for a week-end school, whereas there would be great difficulty in committing the same talent to a series of ten or more single sessions.

The same point may be made with reference to the discussion-box courses, first developed in New Zealand as a technique for serving the outlying areas. While enrolment in these box courses (to be discussed later) is about holding its own, at least some of the directors feel that the week-end school may gradually replace the box courses. It too can be provided in outlying towns; it provides face-to-face contact with the people; and quality control can be exercised more effectively.

A modification of the discussion-box scheme using tape recordings in addition to written materials was attempted at Auckland. These recordings were interspersed with questions for group discussion. On the whole, the results were encouraging, although, as studies in the United States have shown, purposeful listening is not an easy skill to master. At Wellington materials developed for the liberal arts discussion programs at the University of California "Looking at Modern Painting" were being used.

In co-operation with the Community Arts Service of New Zealand the regional councils use the appearance of touring artists to stimulate the development of local drama, music, and art clubs. This often leads to the organization of action projects, including the acquisition of better facilities for local productions and visiting

companies. In the Auckland area, for example, there were twenty-seven local drama clubs functioning at the time of my visit. Director Morrison stressed the fact that in each of these situations the consultant help supplied by the department was designed to stimulate local initiative, assumption of local responsibility, and active as well as passive participation in the arts. In this same area one of the most successful projects, with a fourteen-year history, continues to be the residential music school at Cambridge, which attracts some two hundred students for a two-week period. While the original conception was to attract lay people with an avocational interest in music, the trend over the years has been for more and more persons, especially young adults, to seize on this event as an opportunity for advancing hoped-for professional careers in music. Whether under these conditions the "liberalizing" aspects of the program are sacrificed to a more narrow professional objective we leave to the reader to determine.

Sporadic efforts have been made, one at Fielding of special merit, to apply a community development approach in serving the educational needs of an area. There is a rather general feeling that success in such efforts is dependent on a combination in the staff consultant of skills and personality traits which are rather difficult to find and that the approach is likely to be abortive or at least difficult to conduct with high-quality control.

Two other features may be mentioned briefly: the co-operative programs with the Country Women's Association and the Maori program. The Otago Regional Council has been particularly active in serving the rural women in its area and has developed a weekly radio series on home management. The executive secretary of the National Council, Mr. Martin Smith, notes in his last report a shift of interest in this program from such subjects as dressmaking and floral decoration to such subjects as music, drama, and painting.

Special government grants are made to promote Maori adult education, and three bilingual Maori tutors are primarily responsible for this work. Every effort is made to adapt both the content and the procedures to the unique problems of the Maori minority. There is strong emphasis on the native arts and crafts, and close collaboration with tribal leaders in the building of programs is maintained.

AUSTRALIA

No detailed description of program activities in each of the Australian states is possible within the practical limits of this report.³ Features of each department which impressed this visitor as most characteristic will be mentioned.

Some reference has already been made to the differing program interests of the two departments at the University of Sydney. The Department of Tutorial Classes conducts a class program, discussion groups, a "kits scheme," and residential programs. The department also has responsibility for the publication of the nationally circulated *Current Affairs Bulletin*, which goes fortnightly to a subscription list of 44,000. The characteristic feature of all these activities is the conscious and deliberate effort to maintain high-quality control as regards both content and tutorial supervision. Peers has already reported his view that the Sydney department has developed the most successful program in liberal studies in Australia as determined by both the quality and the geographical coverage of the effort. Part of the success achieved is unquestionably due to the yeoman service of the Adult Education Section of the New South Wales Public Library, but a major factor is most certainly the singleness of purpose and devoted commitment with which the director and the tutorial staff labor to preserve academic excellence and high intellectual quality.

This feature is perhaps best illustrated in the operation of the discussion groups program, which was imported from New Zealand by Director Wilson in 1936 and is currently under the direction of the assistant director, E. M. Higgins. The service is available to any group of five or more persons anywhere in New South Wales or in the Australian Capital Territory. Each group is supplied with stenciled lectures, guidance notes for leaders and reporters, a package library of relevant books and illustrative material, and, most important of all, the services of a corresponding tutor. The courses available in the current syllabus include literature, drama, music, art, philosophy, religion, psychology, international affairs, economics, history, child study and parent education, and the social aspects of science. Fees are low (2s. 6d. per

³ Again the reader is referred to the Alexander report mentioned earlier, and to Robert Peers, *Adult Education* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), chap. xii. See also the annual reports prepared by the various directors.

member per lecture for the course). Whenever feasible, the tutor assigned will make at least one personal visit to the group, but the quality of the supervision depends on the care with which the tutor maintains contact with the group by correspondence with the group's reporter or secretary. I had the opportunity of examining the files containing the complete records of this correspondence for a number of discussion courses, and the almost "loving care" with which the corresponding tutor guides and cajoles the group into more meaningful learning experiences is certainly impressive.

The "kits scheme" is a modified version of the discussion-group approach in that it emphasizes "doing" rather than "discussing." Kits available deal with public speaking, play-reading and play-acting, etc. The artist's kit, for example, contains eight leaflets designed to provide guidance on projects to be undertaken in each of the meetings of the group, a book box, and materials box, including paints, brushes, painting inks, and paper. Although the original intent was to eliminate from this program the regular interchange between groups and an assigned staff officer, the pattern has been modified to include this feature. All these services are provided at a ridiculously low (by American standards, at least) charge to the group—£2 per group for the course, or, in a group of twenty persons, 2 shillings per member. Part-time tutors are employed to conduct the correspondence and to visit the group where possible. They receive by way of compensation £1 per letter and £2 per visit. Both faculty and non-faculty tutors are employed for this task.

It is significant that, while the Department of Tutorial Classes does some work with the independently supported Arts Council of New South Wales, my general impression was that the staff is reluctant to get into the scheduling and booking business and views with some disapproval the tendency in certain other Australian departments to devote a major block of staff time and budget to these types of activities.

One final feature of the Sydney program deserves special mention. Under the supervision of the University Senate and Professorial Board, the Department of Tutorial Classes is permitted to submit up to three "exhibitions" each year on behalf of students who, in the views of their tutors, are qualified to undertake a uni-

versity course. The department is legitimately proud of its record—of the twenty-five exhibitors since 1938-39, one graduated with first-class honors in philosophy and five with second-class and four with third-class honors in arts and economics.

In northern New South Wales and operating from a central office in the city of Armidale a few miles from its parent campus, the Department of Adult Education of the University of New England has in the few years of its existence developed a service program which is quite distinct from any other university program in the Commonwealth. In addition to the more typical array of classes (thirty-four in fourteen communities, ranging from "Aquinas and the Problem of Knowledge" to "The Economics of Banking"), discussion courses, lectures, and conferences, Director Nelson has established a community development service which has many features in common with programs in the United States at such institutions as the University of Washington and Southern Illinois University. The logic of this development stems from a recognition both by Nelson and the university administration and faculty of the economic and social needs of the area and a belief that citizen groups can be helped to deal with area problems more intelligently if the university's resources are made available.

While the Department of Adult Education is not completely tooled as yet for the optimum requirements of a community development service, an impressive beginning has been made, particularly in the Clarence Valley and the city of Grafton. A staff representative has been assigned to full-time service in the area, and a citizens' committee has begun data collection and dissemination of information to the public. Key resource people from the university journey the one hundred and fifty miles from Armidale for frequent conferences and committee meetings. Since the basic problems include flood control, power development, and improvement in agricultural production and technology, a wide range of resources is required. Nelson plans as one next step the appointment of an additional staff member whose major assignment will be to backstop these off-campus programs with the data-gathering essential to any informed action decisions. There is excellent cooperation with the Department of Adult Education from within the university faculty, and one gets the distinct impression that the

"land-grant" philosophy which has had so much to do with the development of university extension in certain sections of the United States is most in evidence as far as Australia is concerned at the University of New England.

Nelson is also making excellent use of the residential school idea and is fortunate in having good facilities for such programs both on the home campus and at the Diocesan Residential Center in Grafton. While many of these programs are directed to particular professional groups—bankers, librarians, local government officials, nurses, etc.—there is no correlative decrease in emphasis on the liberal arts. One of the most sophisticated examples encountered was at Armidale in a course by the lecturer in classics at the university on "Greek Drama through Reading"—and in the original Greek.

In fact, in contradistinction to the predominant philosophy at Sydney, Nelson argues and cites examples to prove that, by starting with people where they are (at a week-end school for graziers, for example, who are primarily interested in pasture improvement), liberal arts content can be introduced and an interest in art and music and drama nurtured.

While the Department of External Studies at the University of New England is separate from the Department of Adult Education, it offers a unique and extensive extramural program. Based in part on the University of London Extra Mural Program and designed particularly to serve students in the rural sections of the state, the department enrolls some nineteen hundred non-resident students in over thirty courses. Laboratory courses, which external students are required to attend, are conducted during vacation schools on campus. Normally, a student after five years of work, including two-week resident periods each year, is ready to sit for the same examinations taken by resident students. Papers of both resident and external students are mixed together and are graded anonymously. The over-all pass record for external students is slightly higher than that for resident students. All courses in the department are given by regular faculty members, and no differentiation is made in the degrees awarded for external vis-à-vis internal students.

The program in Victoria, for organizational reasons already de-

scribed, has some special characteristics. While continuing the program of classes and discussion groups which the Council of Adult Education inherited from the Melbourne University Extension Board at the time of its creation in 1947, the major contribution which the council has made is the creation of a state-wide arts service which provides traveling theater, music, art exhibitions, and other events to a large and enthusiastic clientele. The council and its director, Colin Badger, emphasize that these touring programs are not ends in themselves but means to the stimulation and encouragement of a "direct and practical interest in the arts in Victoria." This objective, it was argued, can best be achieved not through lectures or by formal classes but by demonstration and the providing of direct and firsthand experience with the arts. Starting with three local drama groups in 1948, the council now works with over three hundred local committees, through many of which the local arrangements are made for the professional tours which may reach thirty thousand people in a single eight-week schedule throughout the state.

[Badger argues that this whole development has provided the council with an organized constituency which is viewed with respect by governments of whatever political line and that it provides a broadly based framework within which to create a demand for and local sponsorship of other types of educational programs. He points to the local choral groups, community orchestras, and improved community facilities which are beginning to emerge from the movement and cites examples of where these local groups have branched out into more formal learning activities through the discussion and class program and by requesting visiting lecturers. It is not unfair, I believe, to interpret as Badger's view that the building of such a network of community relations should precede the more problem-centered approach in operation at Armidale. By starting with a program of cultural activities, experience can be provided in the local management of projects which the citizen can comprehend and in which he can directly participate. Out of this can come the larger sense of social and civic responsibility without which the trend toward apathy and neglect of civic duty cannot be stemmed.]

While this may be taking some liberties with Badger's views as

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expressed to me, the approach is an interesting one particularly for an American observer. Whether in fact the results hoped for will be achieved remains to be seen, and whether there is time enough to await the full fruition of the dream is also in doubt.

Brief mention should also be made of the annual summer school conducted by the council at Albury, which in the current session was devoted to the general theme "What Kind of World Tomorrow?" A ten-day program with many auxiliary group activities, the school normally attracts in excess of two hundred enrollees.

An interesting variation between Sydney and Victoria in the management of the discussion-group program is the practice in Victoria of supplying only materials and some optional help on discussion methods. No attempt is made to "coddle" (my word) the groups by tutorial supervision and correspondence.

In South Australia, in spite of the recency of the reorganization referred to in the preceding section, there is in operation a well-balanced program, including evening classes (offered in co-operation with the WEA), extension courses, and residential schools, seminars, and conferences. Some beginning efforts have been made in co-operation with the Country Women's Association to promote and encourage music and drama in the country districts. The director, Arnold Hely, is receptive to the need for the development of a community service program, such as the one operative in Armidale, but does not at present have the staff or fiscal resources needed for such an enterprise.

This observer was most impressed in South Australia by the efforts made to establish good working relationships with other public and voluntary bodies (to be discussed in the next section) and with the initiative and ingenuity demonstrated in the organization of special schools, seminars, and conferences. The range of subject matter represented in these activities was particularly broad and may reflect in some small measure Hely's familiarity with and observation of university adult education in the United States.

The week-long annual summer school dealt last summer with "Indonesia—Our Northern Neighbor," with auxiliary courses in painting and music appreciation. A special one-day conference for business executives covered "Business and Economic Policy."

There were a seven-day "Bankers' Conference" held at Mount Gambier and organized in co-operation with the Rural Liaison Service of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia; a seminar for teachers of French; and a seminar for city planners on "The Role of Multistorey Flats in Adelaide's Future." There were other conferences on "Automation" and "Local Government," schools on international affairs, choral singing, and drama. Some sixty-five hundred adults participated in these and other departmental activities during the year just concluded.

The program at the University of Western Australia is under the direction of Hew Roberts, whose service in and contribution to the American adult education movement will be well known to many of the readers of this report. At this writing the program is a blend of historical influences and new directions being initiated by Roberts since his return to his native Australia several years ago. The inheritance from the recent past is chiefly an extensive community arts program serving a wide circle of country districts and climaxed each year in a "Festival of Perth," with a varied offering of symphony concerts, dramatic presentations, ballet, and non-commercial films. By an ingenious arrangement two weeks of the eight-week Festival period are paralleled with a Department of Adult Education conducted summer school which both attracts from and adds to the Festival audience. The theme of the 1959 school was "Man, Mind, and Medicine," and a reading of the proceedings attests to the high quality and current social relevance of the subject matter.

Starting with three repertory groups in 1948, the dramatic program has now expanded to fifty-seven. In co-operation with the Perth Repertory Club, a professional theater section has been developed which presents some fifteen productions a year in a beautiful government-aided theater and tours three shows to the country districts. The tours average twenty-five hundred miles and thirty-nine stands in five weeks, which suggests that the members of the touring companies are prepared to make great sacrifices for public enjoyment of this art form. The touring programs, as in Victoria, do lead to a demand for study groups and consultant help from the departmental staff.

Evidences of a broadening of the program of the department are

to be found in the development of a special training program for union secretaries, a seminar on juvenile delinquency for social workers and police officers, and a special offering in the field of small business. Metropolitan classes are a regular feature of the program, many of them conducted at the departmental headquarters in downtown Perth, others on the University campus in nearby Nedlands. A box scheme is in operation, with discussion courses in drama, music, literature, parent education, and current affairs.

Both the director and his deputy, John Berman, believe in the importance of building programs related to community needs. But, as their colleagues can well agree, the time required for careful assessment and appropriate programing is considerable, and the resources required in staff and budget are even greater. Structurally, the program in Western Australia is well established, but the department could make good use of additional university and state support to expand the limited but high-quality program now scheduled.

IV

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

A conscientious effort was made throughout the study tour to explore the relationships between the university adult education departments and other agencies both public and voluntary. No pretense of thorough and complete coverage of this subject is implied, but, to the extent that consultations with leaders in non-university bodies were held, useful information was secured not only in respect to descriptive data but also on the attitudinal level. How is the university's role in adult education perceived? Is it viewed as competitive, as supplemental, or as having special leadership responsibilities? How do university officers themselves view the problem of interrelationship with non-university agencies? Is there concern with possible overlap and duplication of services with other bodies, or is there a willingness displayed to collaborate in joint enterprises or in the more basic task of assessing over-all requirements and plotting out the assignments which each agency can most effectively undertake? As might be expected, the responses to such exploratory questions ranged from polite indifference to active sponsorship of co-ordinating efforts.

As has already been suggested, no program observed in either New Zealand or Australia escapes entirely the problem of relationships with the WEA. At least historically, the WEA has been a major force influencing the form and content of the university's program. Even in states such as Victoria, where the WEA is no longer an active force in adult education, the scars of earlier battles remain and influence attitudes and decisions both internally and in other states.

In New Zealand the influence of the WEA has declined as the national and regional councils have encouraged and extended co-operative relationships with other bodies. But neither the Consultative Committee Report in 1947 nor the National Council since

that time has taken punitive action against the WEA; its influence today varies considerably from section to section, depending on the vitality and strength of the local organization. The WEA seemed to be particularly strong in Christchurch but somewhat at logger-heads with the department in Dunedin. There was evidence that the WEA does view the rising influence of the national and regional councils with some resentment, but it continues to receive grants from these bodies. Moreover, the prospects for any revival of WEA influence seem poor. Not only is it being supplanted by newer voluntary bodies, but the earlier conditions which gave the WEA a major social role have in the welfare state largely disappeared.

In New South Wales at the University of Sydney, as has already been pointed out, the WEA's influence is great and shows no signs of deteriorating. In addition to the large program of tutorial classes which it organizes in co-operation with the university, there is a large autonomous WEA program of classes and club activities, conducted in the WEA's own building in downtown Sydney and at its residential center in Newport. There are also strong regional programs in the Hunter Valley and at Illawarra. It maintains a lending library and issues a journal, the *Australian Highway*.

The WEA's current position of power in New South Wales, unduplicated in any other center visited, derives (1) from its history and particularly the strong leadership of Dave Stewart, co-founder with Albert Mansbridge of the WEA in Australia;¹ (2) from the fact that it maintains a full-time professional staff quite independent of the university; and (3) from the fact that the university itself and particularly the Department of Tutorial Classes appear to welcome and support this rather exclusive partnership.

The relationship is certainly more than casual and has been justified on theoretical as well as practical grounds. The WEA is perceived as the department's "conscience," with particular responsibility for "stressing the importance of liberal studies in a community, that in every section of it, is increasingly apt to undervalue them."² Further, the WEA's role is defined as being "an effective

¹ See E. M. Higgins, *David Stewart and the WEA* (Sydney: Workers Education Association of New South Wales, 1957).

² In a letter to the writer from Director Wilson following the study visit to Sydney.

supporter of the tutors' efforts to create the climate of opinion in which liberal studies and the effort involved, is made manifest to the students it [the WEA] recruits for classes." It should also be and historically has been a "vigilant defender of the conditions essential for liberal studies; the necessity for free, tolerant, and vigorous discussion of controversial matters." The Sydney people are convinced that the absence of a strong WEA in other states has much to do with the disappearance of controversial materials from these programs.

Weighed against these values is the risk that they may be worshiped blindly to the exclusion of other worthwhile ends of a university program. At the time of this writer's visit, there was a lively discussion with the WEA as to whether efforts at broadening the university's program (e.g., in community development schemes) would weaken support for the liberal studies. The predominant sentiment in both the WEA and the department's Tutorial Staff was most certainly one of resistance to change and the dilution of the department's major mission. Here, again, developments in other states are viewed as justifying the logic of this attitude.

The dominant position of the WEA at Sydney reduces the attention to and concern for relationships with other agencies. Although the assistant director of the New South Wales Department of Education, Mr. T. R. M. Sloane, in charge of evening colleges (evening high schools in the United States), sits on the WEA board and administers an extensive program of courses in thirty-nine centers, ranging from cake decoration to high-school-level academic subjects, there is little evidence of a day-to-day working relationship between the university and the State Department of Education. It may be that the respective responsibilities of the two bodies are so well understood that no continuing exploration of community needs and agency responsibilities is required. Certainly, the primary concern of the State Department of Education with technical and vocational courses accentuates the lines of demarcation.

In theory the Statewide Advisory Board for Adult Education, chaired by the director of education, provides machinery for co-ordination as well as for the allocation of state grants. It did not appear to this observer that, in practice, the State Board concerned

itself in its infrequent meetings with the total task of adult education in New South Wales and the smooth intermeshing of the various agency programs.

Adelaide provided the writer his best opportunity for inter-agency visiting and consultation. It seems reasonable to assume that this was not entirely a circumstantial occurrence but that there is in South Australia a more deliberate and self-conscious effort than elsewhere to get an over-all view of the states' needs in relation to the total adult education resources available.³

As regards the voluntary bodies, the university in South Australia is most actively associated with the WEA and the Country Women's Association, although occasional enterprises are reported involving the League of Women Voters, the Social Service Council, and the Institute of Justices. Here again the WEA program merits special attention, since it was until quite recently the chief avenue through which the university's energies were channeled.

Under the present arrangement the WEA is represented on the University's Adult Education Board and, in co-operation with the university, organizes over fifty evening classes. Under its own auspices additional subjects are scheduled, usually in areas of subject matter not especially appropriate to a university (e.g., flower arrangement, photography, gardening, etc.). It operates a bookshop on the university grounds, from which it currently realizes in profits some £1,500 a year for the support of its educational work. It maintains a library and a student center in central Adelaide. It still receives an annual grant of £2,500 and collects about £1,700 from student fees. It was the impression of this visitor that the reorganization in Adelaide under which the respective functions of the university and the WEA were redefined has been most constructive and permits both bodies to work much more effectively in both their common and their separate tasks.

Most profitable discussions also took place in Adelaide with the chief of agricultural extension, Mr. Robert Herriott, and selected

³ Arnold Hely, director at Adelaide, in a paper prepared for a meeting of state directors last year, specifically charges the universities with the responsibility of co-operating with these other bodies and with making themselves aware of their resources, policy, programs, and methods and, wherever possible, of using their influence to encourage fruitful co-ordination and liaison.

staff members; with the director of technical education in the State Education Department, Mr. John Walker; and with the members of his staff who are responsible for administering a program reaching over ten thousand adults in one hundred and twenty adult education centers scattered throughout the state of South Australia. There are excellent working relationships between the university and these other public agencies. This is not to say that there are no jurisdictional problems or that all possible avenues of developing mutual aid and support are being utilized. But the conditions appear to be ripe for extremely fruitful collaboration which might well be a model for other universities both in and outside of Australia to study.

The recognition within the Agricultural Extension staff of the vital need for leadership training programs especially among young adults and the beginning of a program of in-service training points to one practical way in which close co-operation with the university can work to mutual advantage. The broad scope of the State Department's program and the fact that it has taken as recently as 1956 the forward-looking step of establishing an adult education facility in so many neighborhoods and communities can strengthen immeasurably the programs of all agencies if the evils of jurisdictional competition and strife can be avoided by wise and thoughtful planning at the state level.

The Technical Extension Service of the Western Australia Department of Education has developed an excellent group correspondence scheme to serve the outlying country areas. More importantly, perhaps, for the university, it has given special attention to the organization of local youth groups with both educational and recreational activities. These groups are led by local organizers who in a sense become volunteer co-ordinators and information officers for their communities on educational resources available and required. Although there was little evidence that this machinery was being used either by the university or other agencies as a channel for communication and recruitment, the potentialities deserve exploration. The relationships between the State Department and the university, while friendly, are not close—a condition which stems in large part from the limited time and resources which each has to command.

V

SOME CONTINUING PROBLEMS

The purpose of this section is to identify at least some of the major areas of concern as revealed by the wide range of interviews and discussions which characterized the study tour. It is not intended as an exhaustive list, and many of the items identified will strike a familiar ring in the ears of American readers.

Professional training and research.—There is a discouraging absence of opportunities for the graduate preparation of adult educators and a concomitant lack of research activity in all the universities visited. The field of adult education is simply not acknowledged or recognized as an area appropriate for university instruction or research. Moreover, outside the collection of statistics for annual reports, there is almost no operational or theoretical research being done within the departments of adult education themselves. This situation is lamented by all the administrators with whom conversations were held, but the absence of academic status for the administrators themselves operates to reduce the possibility that they can do much to change the situation. It was agreed, in New Zealand particularly, that the opportunities for professional placement in the field of adult education are so limited that there is little incentive for the universities to undertake the task. On the other hand, the situation in Australia cannot be rationalized on this basis, and Roberts at Western Australia and Hely at Adelaide are both making a determined effort to impress upon university officers the urgent need for academic recognition of adult education as both a teaching and a research field.¹

The lack of these campus resources may also explain the relatively low priority given to the development of leadership training programs for lay leaders and for professionals in other adult education agencies. Roberts and Hely, again, and Nelson at Armidale

¹ Hely, in the work paper for the meeting of Australian directors referred to in Section IV, n. 3, identifies research and professional training as two of the five major tasks facing Australian adult educators today.

appear to be most sensitive in their programing efforts to this need.

Recruitment and status of staff.—There is general agreement that this problem is acute in both Australia and New Zealand. Salaries are usually set at equivalent academic levels, but advancement is slow; and the demands made on the adult education officer are so heavy as to frighten off or discourage many qualified persons from choosing a career in the field. Competitively and because of the size of the country, New Zealand is in the most difficult situation and has lost a number of good people to Australia and other countries.

Geographical coverage.—A special problem in Australia is presented by the tremendous distances which must be covered if the university's services are to be made available in the thinly populated areas. In Western Australia, where the situation is most acute, the potential clientele is a population of less than one million in a state four times the size of Texas and with a north-south axis of two thousand miles. The proliferation of special schemes, discussion boxes, touring companies, week-end schools, and the like is an indigenous development attributable to the necessities of Australian geography and provides to many of our own sparsely settled states some excellent models for study and adaptation to the American scene.

Physical facilities.—No administrator, apparently, is ever satisfied with the physical facilities available to him and his students; and the directors visited on this trip were no exception. Western Australia makes use of beautiful outdoor facilities on campus for its summer festival, but the downtown center is crowded and inadequate. Victoria, after several years of negotiation, appears to be in possession of an old building in downtown Melbourne, which after considerable remodeling will be a valuable asset. Staff offices and classrooms are separated into two locations. The WEA Theater and Hall in downtown Sydney has already been mentioned, but there seemed to be general agreement that improvements would have to be made in the residential center at Newport if its usefulness were to be maintained.

Nelson's setup at Armidale as well as the facilities of departments visited in New Zealand appeared to be reasonably satisfac-

tory and comparable to what extension divisions in many American universities would have available.

National and international co-operation.—At the national level New Zealand, with its National Council pattern of organization, is most happily situated. Regular meetings of the regional directors are held on call of the council's executive officer, and occasional professional meetings for other staff officers are scheduled. Australia has no national organization of university adult educators or other professional body. Some effort is made at intercommunication through an annual meeting of directors, with a scattering of staff members, tutors, and other agency representatives present on occasion. There seemed general agreement that these informal get-togethers had not been very productive, and Hely includes in his list of five major tasks for Australian adult education the establishment of a "national body representative of adult education interests and capable of creating a continuing liaison between the many organizations concerned to a greater or lesser degree with provision of adult education services."

As a start in this direction Hew Roberts prepared a draft constitution for the establishment of an adult education association of Australia. This draft was circulated to the directors and has now been reworked by Lascelles Wilson at Sydney along the lines of the National Institute for Adult Education in Britain. There seems to be some reason for hope that out of these current negotiations will come some kind of acceptable scheme for national co-operation.

To Americans, who have the reputation of establishing new organizations on the slightest provocation, this may seem like a step long overdue. But, as this study report reveals, the cleavages in philosophy and practice among the Australian states and even within the single state of New South Wales are so basic that no proposal for anything more than a loose association of autonomous departments has any chance of acceptance.

This tendency to be protective of local idiosyncrasies makes it difficult if not impossible for anyone to speak for Australian adult education as a national movement. It seems certain that Australian adult education has paid a rather heavy price for this disunity in

terms both of generating national support for the movement and of relating to other national movements overseas.

This point can be illustrated in connection with the selection of an Australian delegation to the forthcoming international conference on adult education called by UNESCO and scheduled for 1960 in Canada. Adult education is not represented officially on the Australian UNESCO National Commission and is in a relatively weak position without some kind of national body to influence the selection of a representative Australian delegation. The somewhat specious argument that all these efforts at national and international collaboration are somehow going to lead to federal or international interference with the right to be different is really a disservice to the total movement and not subject to factual proof.

Generally speaking, the proposal for closer co-operation of adult educators in the Commonwealth with their colleagues in the United States as developed by Professor Clarence Jayne at the University of Wyoming was supportively received in the centers visited by this writer. A variety of suggestions was made as to ways in which this objective might be served through the establishment of an international body and by the more extended use of exchange facilities already available. The writer was instructed to discuss both at UNESCO and with colleagues in the United States ways and means for utilizing the forthcoming international meeting as an opportunity for face-to-face discussion of the Jayne proposal by the delegations from the United States and the Commonwealth countries who presumably would be in attendance at the Canadian conference. Obviously, the practicability of this suggestion depends in the final analysis upon the selection of representative delegations, who, by firsthand knowledge and experience of the adult education programs in their respective states, are in a position to discuss authoritatively the specifics of any plan for furthering co-operation across national boundaries.

VI

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

No attempt at a final word or over-all summary would be appropriate in a report which attempts only a cross-sectional analysis at one brief point in time of a complex and constantly changing pattern of program activities and administrative arrangements. University adult education in New Zealand and Australia, as in the United States, is much too deeply enmeshed in the fabric of contemporary social trends and developments to expect that it can or should remain static for very long in either its form or its substance. In the view of this observer, however, there are at least three questions which can be raised in this closing section of the report to point up some of the central issues and problems with which New Zealand and Australian adult educators must concern themselves in the immediate future. The issues which I have selected are also those which seem to me to have direct implications for American readers and the advancement of liberal adult education in the United States.

1. Certainly, one major issue in both New Zealand and Australia on which clarification if not agreement should be reached has to do with the various approaches to liberal adult education currently in evidence. As we have seen, there are at least two major approaches, and in some departments both approaches are tried on the theory, perhaps, that any means are justified by the importance of the end sought.

Seriously, however, there are important differences in the philosophical assumptions on which these two approaches are based. The tutorial class approach assumes that there is inherent in the nature and intellectual level of the subject matter of the liberal studies structural and methodological requirements which must not be ignored. These include the importance of maintaining high academic standards by careful selection of tutor and by close tutorial supervision of the learning process; sequential treatment of

subject matter over a long enough period to mitigate at least the risk of superficiality and dilettantism; a combination of lecture and discussion designed to protect the group, on one hand, from "the forensic display of ignorant opinion" and to encourage, on the other hand, practice in the mastery of the communication skills and the scientific method. In this view the tutor-student relationship is of paramount importance. Society is best served and, some would say, can only be served by adult education when the intellectual power and critical thinking ability of individual citizens are increased as a result of this kind of carefully planned and managed educational experience.

By contrast, what may be called the "community arts service" approach contends that, to involve any considerable segment of the adult population in the arts and, through the experience with the arts, in more formal types of adult learning, administrators of programs have not only a perfect right but a responsibility for getting maximum coverage through a broad program of touring ballet and drama companies, through the appearance in country districts of concert artists, and by exposing even the rural areas to examples of good art and music. It is significant that the case for this approach especially in Western Australia and Victoria is strengthened by the success of such efforts with the armed services during the war and by the easy transference of lessons learned during this period to the service of a peacetime, civilian, and largely rural population.

Moreover, while defending the legitimacy of entertainment as an appropriate by-product of experience with the arts, the advocates of community arts services vigorously maintain that an integral feature of this approach is the creation of locally led and managed cultural groups of all types; the encouragement of individual participation in local music groups, repertory theaters, and arts clubs; and the introduction, when readiness develops, of more formal opportunities for the study of the social sciences and the humanities through discussion courses and tutorial classes.

A variant both of the tutorial class and of the community arts approach is, of course, the community development approach most highly perfected at Armidale, where concern with the immediate and pressing problems of the community provides the rationale for a service directly related to improving citizen problem-solving and

decision-making. This view, I think, might be criticized by the tutorial class proponents as being too task-oriented and by the advocates of community arts as being premature and too selective in its appeal.

Happily, one may hypothesize that there are many gates to Paradise, and an outside observer can only voice the hope that as the roads to these various gates are explored, in the city as well as in the out-back, some attempt will be made to state, test, and evaluate the varying assumptions which are now argued vehemently and occasionally on an *ad hominem* level. The international fraternity of adult educators has much to learn from the Australian and New Zealand experience, and this process can be aided by our colleagues in these countries through objective analysis and appraisal of the issues at stake.

2. Perhaps my choice of the second topic of this concluding section is a reflection of my own problems as a "bureaucrat," but I have a strong hunch that one major explanation for the relatively strong position of university and liberal education in New Zealand and Australia is its solidly established base of fiscal support. I attempted to construct, as I went along, a comparative chart on departmental budgets, including sources of funds, but the data are not sufficiently comparable to permit detailed presentation.¹

It is apparent, however, that in proportion to size and population the total grant program in New Zealand is most favorable. What is even more important, there is a friendly and supportive attitude on the part of the national government and particularly in the Department of Education. This is not surprising in view of the broad knowledge and professional competence of the director, Dr. C. E. Beebe, whose temporary service as director of the Department of Education at UNESCO won him international respect and acclaim. But, in itself, this is not sufficient to explain why in New Zealand, and to a lesser but not inconsiderable degree in Australia, there is a more deeply rooted acceptance of the important role of adult education in the total educational system and, proportionate to government moneys available, a much more generous pattern of support.

¹ For example, it is difficult to discover the extent of university "contributions" in kind. These may range from clerical help to the provision of physical facilities and, in some instances, to the coverage of staff salaries outside the departmental budget.

It would be interesting to speculate as to whether this is due at least in part to the consistently greater emphasis on liberal studies in New Zealand and Australia or to a more thorough understanding of the importance of these studies on the part of the general public. Whatever the explanation, it is my distinct impression that in both New Zealand and Australia adult education is less marginal and more securely established as an appropriate object for liberal state support than is the case in the United States. This conclusion, I hasten to add, is not reached on the basis of absolute sums spent. The annual budgets for university programs in New Zealand, insofar as I can determine them, approximate £135,000-£140,000, and almost nine-tenths of this comes from state grants. In Australia, including the council operations in Victoria but without including Tasmania and Queensland, which I did not visit, the total expenditure would approximate £253,000, of which more than three-fifths would be derived from state or university grants-in-aid and the balance from fees.

These attempts to generalize slough over the significant differences between states and the varying degrees to which particular departments may have to depend on earned income. But in only two instances did earned income approach 50 per cent of the total budget; in others it dropped as low as 10 per cent.

When one considers differences in per capita wealth, the purchasing power of the currency, and costs of living, comparisons with the situation in the United States are not very flattering and must raise some questions among my American readers as to the reasons for our failure to make similar progress in attracting financial support. One of the most astute commentaries on this general problem is in the report of an Australian's study tour in the United States.

Arnold Hely wrote after his return, in reference to the American system of financing university adult education largely from student fees, that the method of financing determines to a large extent the type of programs which can be provided. As the percentage of self-support goes up, student fees must be increased. "The courses which are likely to attract students prepared to pay relatively high fees tend to be those which have some relevance to the technical or vocational needs of the individual. This leads to a

lack of balance in the program and to the neglect of courses and programs in the liberal arts and humanities."

I do not know the answer to the dilemma thus presented to university adult educators in the United States, but my experience in New Zealand and Australia convinces me that university leadership in American adult education will be limited and partially stalemated until the prevailing parsimony of university budgetmakers and state legislatures is changed.

3. This discussion leads logically to my next question, which concerns the precise nature of the university's role in adult education. As has been indicated in the body of this report, there are almost as many answers to this question in Australia and New Zealand as there are in the United States. The issues raised include the problem of relationships with voluntary bodies as well as with other publicly-supported programs, the determination of what types of courses, activities, and services are appropriate to university sponsorship, and the role which the university should perform in guiding the over-all development of adult education and providing it with the trained personnel and research base which it must have.

Is it possible, for example, that some of the fiscal problems of liberal adult education in the United States derive from the universities' failure to identify, organize, and cultivate a constituency sufficiently powerful on the political level to protect a somewhat more impressive level of state support? With all the present-day criticism of the WEA, it must be admitted that in both Australia and New Zealand the role of public protagonist was well played and historically, at least, had much to do with public acceptance of the concept of adult education. What is the modern equivalent to be: a council and lay association, as in Victoria; citizen committees, as in Armidale; a network of local drama groups, as in Western Australia; or the perpetuation of the WEA, as at Sydney?

What is the American answer to the same question, and from what sources is a place for adult education in the social power structure to be gained? Perhaps, as one of my informants suggested, it is not to be expected that the answers to such questions will be found within the universities. They are too aloof from the market place, too concerned with resident teaching and specialized

research and the expanding budgets required for such functions, to play a decisive or even influential role in the extension of liberal adult education. There is little evidence to suggest that other public departments, ministries of education and of agriculture, for example, are interested in or equipped to provide the leadership required.

Other possible alternatives, I am sure, can be proposed; but my own considered judgment, influenced by the experiences of the trip just concluded as well as by events back home, is that some present-day equivalent of the WEA, broader in membership base but focused as was the WEA on the liberal studies and their relevance to the human condition, must be conceived and made operative if the social forces opposing liberal adult education are to be contained. Marginality is not a static condition. It, as a term describing the position of university adult education in the liberal studies today, will either increase or be reduced; and it will take something more than reasoned argument to produce the latter result.

POSTSCRIPT

As I read over the manuscript just concluded, I am chagrined that in my preoccupation with the technical aspects of my report there has been little communication of the warm and friendly feelings which marked this, for me, rare opportunity of exchanging views. Nor have I mentioned the many instances when our whole family (a not inconsiderable number, since my wife and four of the younger members of the family accompanied me) was the object of hospitality which went far beyond the common courtesies which might ordinarily be extended to visitors from abroad. The list in our trip book grew from day to day and included many persons not directly connected with adult education in any official way. We can only seek to do half as well when the roles of visitor and host are reversed.

I wish also to testify to the value of a team approach to international understanding and the enjoyment of foreign travel. Our twenty-one-year-old daughter, just graduated from Stanford, and our "second son," as he describes himself, a sophomore at the Davis campus of the University of California, carried on numerous investigations of their own, not all of them socially motivated in the narrow sense, and pooled their views with those of the other members of the expedition in frequent family "bull sessions" which sometimes seriously endangered, if only temporarily, the authority role which parents and particularly a college professor might reasonably expect would be accorded. The fifteen-year-old was the real administrator for the tour and should go into the travel business. I could guarantee, in addition, that he would put on a respectable performance in all the contests, athletic and otherwise, in which he might engage. The youngest, age thirteen, was the fact-gatherer and curio collector. The Maori in New Zealand, the Aborigines of Australia, and the native entrepreneurs of Swaziland have now contributed (that isn't exactly correct) to the material wealth of the Sheats household an assortment of spears, shields, boomerangs, and a varied collection of *objets d'art* which will tax the storage capacity of our domestic establishment.

One of the pieces of luggage that accompanied us, which in view of airline baggage limits might have been considered somewhat superfluous, turned out to be a most important medium of communication. The guitar, while not the most noteworthy of musical instruments, proved to be, in the skilful hands of certain family members, especially "the second son," not only an excuse for many pleasant songfests but also a device for turning up all kinds of folklore and bits of cultural history.

Finally and most importantly, I wish to mention with real appreciation the insightful contributions and active collaboration of my usual companion and partner in the preparation of this report. I can heartily recommend her both as a traveling companion and as a research assistant but hasten to add to all and sundry that she is already a party to an indissoluble contract which will fully occupy both her time and her unique talents for what I hope are many more years and trips to come.

*ADDENDUM: A PARTIAL LIST OF PERSONS CONSULTED
DURING STUDY TOUR¹*

AUSTRALIA

- PROFESSOR FRED ALEXANDER, University of Western Australia
SIR ARTHUR AMIES, Deputy Chancellor, University of Melbourne, and Chairman, University Extension Committee
MR. C. R. BADGER, Director, Council of Adult Education, Melbourne
DR. HENRY BASTEN, Vice-Chancellor, University of Adelaide
MR. JOHN BERMAN, Executive Officer, Festival of Perth
MR. H. D. BLACK, Senior Lecturer in Economics and Member Joint Committee in Tutorial Classes, University of Sydney
PROFESSOR F. A. BLAND, M.P., Chairman, Joint Committee of Tutorial Classes
THE HONORABLE JOHN BLOOMFIELD, Minister of Education for Victoria
THE HONORABLE HENRY BOLTE, Premier, Government of Victoria
MR. MAX BONE, Assistant Superintendent of Technical Education, Southern Australia
MR. VERNON CREWS, Director of Adult Education, Canberra
DR. D. W. CROWLEY, Assistant Director of Adult Education, University of Adelaide
PROFESSOR W. G. K. DUNCAN, University of Adelaide and Chairman, University Adult Education Board
MR. W. G. HAYMAN, Superintendent of Technical Education, Western Australia
MR. A. S. M. HELY, Director of Adult Education, University of Adelaide
MR. ROBERT HERRIOTT, Chief, Agricultural Extension Service, Southern Australia
MR. E. M. HIGGINS, Assistant Director, Department of Tutorial Classes, University of Sydney
MR. D. R. HUTCHESON, Past President, WEA Metropolitan Regional Council, Sydney
PROFESSOR J. N. LEWIS, Chairman, Department of Agricultural Economics, Armidale
VICE-CHANCELLOR R. B. MADGWICK, University of New England, Armidale
MR. TOM McAVOY, General Secretary, WEA, New South Wales
PROFESSOR G. L. McALYMONT, Chairman, Department of Rural Science, Armidale
PROFESSOR C. R. McRAE, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, University of Sydney
MR. A. J. A. NELSON, Director of Adult Education, University of Armidale, New South Wales

¹ Staff tutors and staff officers within departments of adult education are not listed but contributed a great deal to my education.—P. H. S.

- MR. HAROLD J. OLIVER, Secretary, University of Sydney Extension Board
MR. JOHN ORME, Headmaster, Grafton High School, New South Wales
SIR EARLE PAGE, M.H.R., Chancellor, University of New England, Armidale
SIR GEORGE PATON, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne
HIS HONOR, THE LORD MAYOR OF MELBOURNE, MR. RAMSAY
DR. HEW ROBERTS, Director of Adult Education, University of Western Australia
MR. HOWARD C. SHEATH, Director of External Studies, University of New England, Armidale
MR. GEORGE SHIPP, Metropolitan Secretary, WEA, Sydney
MR. T. R. M. SLOANE, Assistant Director, New South Wales Department of Education
MRS. DOROTHY STRETTON, Chairman, Victorian Adult Education Association, Melbourne
THE HONORABLE ROBERT SUGGETT, Member, Legislative Assembly, and President, Victorian Adult Education Association
MR. JOHN WALKER, Superintendent of Technical Education, South Australia
MR. WILLIAM J. WEEDEN, Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education, Sydney
MR. J. L. J. WILSON, Director of Tutorial Classes, University of Sydney
DR. H. S. WYNDHAM, Director-General of Education for New South Wales and Chairman, Adult Education Advisory Board

NEW ZEALAND

- MR. G. T. ALLEY, Director, National Library Service, and Member, National Council of Adult Education
DR. C. E. BEEBE, Director, New Zealand Department of Education
MR. MORRIS CAVE, New Zealand Broadcasting Service, Wellington
MR. W. H. COCKER, Chancellor, University of Auckland, and Chairman, National Council of Adult Education
MR. DAVID HALL, Director of Adult Education, Dunedin
MR. STEWART MORRISON, Director of Adult Education, Auckland
PROFESSOR S. MUSGROVE, University of Auckland, and Member, National Council of Adult Education
MR. HILTON POWER, Director of Adult Education, Wellington
MR. DONALD RUTHERFORD, Director of Adult Education, Christchurch
PROFESSOR J. O. SHEARER, Victoria University; Vice-Chairman, National Council of Adult Education; and Chairman, Regional Council of Adult Education
THE HONORABLE P. S. SGOGLAND, Minister of Education for New Zealand
MR. P. MARTIN SMITH, Executive Officer and Secretary of the National Council of Adult Education

University Adult Education in Australia and New Zealand

PROFESSOR H. C. D. SOMERSET, Victoria University, and Member, Regional
and National Councils

DR. WILLIAMS, Vice-Chancellor, Victoria University, Wellington

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AIMS IN ADULT EDUCATION · I

A REALIST VIEW

HARRY S. BROUDY

CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL
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AIMS IN ADULT EDUCATION • I
A REALIST VIEW

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CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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MAR 28 1960 P.M.D.

INTRODUCTION

Professor Broudy's stimulating essay has an interesting history. Some years ago the Center decided that it was time for the philosophy of adult education to be systematically explored by minds trained to do so. It proposed to a number of professional philosophers of education, therefore, that they write separate chapters of a projected book, bringing to bear on adult education the major viewpoints existing in the philosophy of education itself.

But philosophers cannot be hurried; and it is by now clear that, though we still look forward to the completion of the project, we had best not hold our breath meanwhile. We decided to publish each chapter as we received it as a Notes and Essays and put them all together when we had them all. Mr. Broudy's chapter arrived first, and here it is, as the first in a series which we call "The Aims of Adult Education." Mr. Broudy is Professor of the philosophy of education at the University of Illinois and has had a number of occasions to take a sharp look at adult education.

The reader might well note that there are at least several other essays published by the Center which fit under this rubric, though they are not part of the present series, as for example, by another professional philosopher, Marc Belth, titled "Liberal Education for Adults Re-examined."

Harry L. Miller, Assistant Director
CSLEA

October, 1959

ence to collective action is representing a view of life and value accepted by the American middle class, let us say, at the turn of the century.

But what is the role of the teacher or administrator vis-a-vis the adult learner? On what grounds can the felt needs of such a learner and the resulting educational choices be criticized? Suppose, for example, that a young woman feels the need of charm training. If the adult educator judges that she really needs training in social responsibility or family living, what is he to do? Obviously any advice or pressure would be irrational and impertinent without some theoretical or moral justification. If there can be no such justification, then the discussion about aims in education ends right here. The only possible aim for adult education would then be to fulfill the wants as felt of its diverse clientele; the heart of adult educational thought would then have to be located in the problem of means, instruments, and modes of organization.

Two considerations make educators a little skeptical about this quick solution. First, adults not only make procedural errors in choosing their educational fare; they frequently admit that they might have chosen differently had their value systems been as mature at the time of choice as they later became. The adult who profoundly regrets not having undertaken this or that sort of adult education is a familiar figure. Second, and more basic, the very notion of education loses its meaning if the learner retains full and literal autonomy in his choice of learnings. To be a learner in any significant sense means to give up one's autonomy to the demands of the task being learned. If I choose to learn mathematics, then the demands of mathematics become valid for me. Each discipline has its own methods and content that limit the learner's activities. Even personal problems do not give the individual free rein in the learnings needed to solve them. The learner does not surrender his sovereignty to the teacher as another person but to the teacher as the representative of the task to be accomplished or the problem to be solved. Children and some educational theorists find it hard to understand that this kind of surrender is not submission to personal autocratic authority. Adults should find this surrender easier to understand and to effect. How far, however, does the autonomy of the adult learner extend? More pointedly, is there any principle by which this autonomy can be limited without being destroyed?

Formal Curriculum Approach

One answer to this question has been to say something like this: over many centuries Western cultures have evolved a pattern of schooling designed to shape the educated man in society. This program is embodied in the curriculum of the modern school system. People can say, therefore, that every man should aim to traverse this educational road from beginning to end. Adult education would be the resumption of this journey from whatever point it had been interrupted.

There is much merit in this way of looking at the matter. It furnishes the design for many existing programs of adult education. The objection that this is "youth" education projected into night schools for adults is not too serious. Insofar as the educational design has merit and is within the capacities of the individual learner, it is as valuable for the man or woman in the thirties as in the teens and twenties. As we shall see, this objection gains its force from other considerations.

There is certainly a case for the view that this scheme of schooling, when carried out efficiently and intelligently for those capable of it, is still the best formula for general education developed by our Western culture. To be sure, this ladder of formal schooling—even when the learner ascends to the graduate level—is only a foundation, ground work, and introduction. It is expected that a person will continue his education beyond this point. But a learner must have gone at least through part of this formal stage in order to continue beyond it. Accordingly, for those who have not finished it, the best adult education might very well be to do so. Of course, if this formal schooling is not genuinely general, the principle loses much of its universality.

There are some practical difficulties with this approach, and some of these are due to the very adulthood of the learner. The adult is living as well as learning; and systematic formal schooling is a full-time occupation, and not something to be sandwiched in between other duties. Adults just do not have the time for the kind of study and reading that formal schooling at its best requires.

If, however, educators complain that adults with inadequate time and talent who persist in undertaking formal course work get very little out of it, they are likely to be told, usually after the last class, that although the students did not take the final examination, did not study the test, nor

do the outside readings, nevertheless they "got a good deal out of the course, and it was a privilege to be in your class, Professor."

The contention that these learners get something out of the experience, even if it does little more than take them away from bad movies and evil companions, is a poor sort of justification for the expenditures of time and money. Even when adults can afford to throw away their money on capricious adult education, they can ill afford the waste of time. Time is precisely what the adult cannot afford to waste because he is using up life as he lives it. Adult education is not a preparation for a distant future. There is about adult education—when it is not simply a harmless hobby—a sense of urgency that is both rewarding and frightening: rewarding when it means that one has caught himself in time; frightening when it is suspected that the learner is running faster and faster in the wrong direction.

This brings us perhaps to a more formidable objection to the formal approach to adult education. It is that the kind of learning the adult needs most is enlightening practice in value experimentation. The adult needs to use knowledge in the testing of values while trying to realize them, in the making of decisions, and in modifying the quality of life being lived. This emphasis on the use of knowledge raises the possibility that the kind of curriculum that works so well for the very young may also be the one that will work best for the adult, *viz.*, the creative activity and problem-solving curriculum. This does not mean, however, as some advocates of the activity program would seem to imply, that this approach can dispense with systematic knowledge.¹ On the contrary, the freer the learning experience is, the less structured it is, the more structure must the instructor or the task or both supply.

Social Roles Approach

It has been suggested that the guiding principle for adult education be social roles or functions rather than growth or the completion of a curriculum of formal subject matter. It is argued that since every adult has to play certain roles—wage earner, family member, citizen, etc.—education should be designed to enable him to play these roles more effectively. In this approach there is a definite principle by which it would

1. Cf. H. S. Broudy, "New Times, New Battles," School and Society, 82:2064, 1955, pp. 22-25.

be possible to evaluate the educational choices of the adult learner. Thus it might always be in order to ask: what social role is the learning you have chosen to pursue helping you to fulfill or to fulfill better?

Havighurst² has held that this approach is distinctive of adult education as contrasting with the goal of growth in youth education. This distinction is important in that adults are on the stage of life itself whereas youth can be regarded as in rehearsal for life. Adults have to face the consequences of living in an adult society whereas youth are spared these consequences by virtue of their youth. Yet who will argue that chronological and even existential adulthood is always and equally accompanied by readiness to play the social roles assigned to it adequately, whatever adequacy is taken to mean?

Education, however, would seem to lose its point where perfect maturity in the learner obtains; and to equate education with life itself does in fact and theory dull its point rather badly. Adult education, whatever people may say about adult life or living, is as much a developmental task as is youth or childhood education, especially wherever development refers to something other than physiological maturation.³

This approach has the advantage of coming upon the learner in the midst of his trials-and-errors in role playing. It should be easy for even a heterogeneous group to identify problems of the family, citizenship, earning a living, etc. In addition, the group would have a fairly uniform background of experiences on which to draw for communication, planning, study, and decision.

The difficulties with this sort of approach are of several kinds. In the first place, social roles have variable and constant elements. For example, the constant in the family role is the structure of the Western family; the variables are the number of members in the family, economic status, history, etc.

It is in the area of constants of each institution that one will have to seek the criteria or standards of adequate functioning. For what does it

2. Robert J. Havighurst, *Social Role of the Middle-Aged Person*, The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Notes and Essays Series, No. 4 (March, 1953).

3. Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1958.

mean to say that C is functioning well in the family and Y is not? One can mean (a) that the family as a social unit continues to exhibit its basic structure, *viz.*, husband X and wife sharing a household where children are being reared, while Y's household no longer exists. (b) Or it might mean that X is happy with his home life while Y is not. Both might satisfy the requirements of (a) and fail to satisfy the requirements of (b). Presumably the state will settle for criterion, because the union rather than its qualitative state is its primary concern. Yet if we push this separation too far, we reach the limiting case of miserable individuals living in and maintaining a highly efficient state. This may be logically possible, but it is doubtful that it is psychologically or even politically probable. Sooner or later institutional structures and personal happiness have to adapt to each other, or at least promise to do so.

Nevertheless, which component is end and which is means is more than a verbal issue. Either the quality of personal life is that for the sake of which institutional roles are played, or personal experience is fashioned for the sake of some institutional structure. To insist that these cannot be separated is true enough, but not particularly illuminating and can be misleading. It is one thing to reform an institution because we do not like the sort of personal experience it is producing, and quite another to alter personal experience because it does not conform to an institutional pattern. The very serious limitation of the social roles approach to adult education, or any other kind for that matter, is that it locates the center of gravity in institutional primacy; and it is almost inevitable that the evils of the "other directed" sort of life will be its consequence. Logically, this is the end of adult autonomy.

These objections do not rule social roles out as criteria for adult educational aims, but they suggest a more fundamental analysis. Such an analysis would make the quality of individual life basic. The social roles would not be abandoned but would be regarded as collective means for enhancing these qualities. Indeed, the compulsive force of institutions may be the only lever wherewith the individual can be lifted onto a higher plane of individual life.

Obviously to use the individual criterion, one would first have to believe there is a pattern of individual life such that it will be inevitably judged good, at least by all competent observers. Such a belief runs counter to the prevailing mood of cultural relativism in the social sciences.

Cultural relativism holds that value norms or standards are a product of a particular culture and are valid for that culture only. Thus an act that ranks low in Culture X and high in Culture Y could be equally valid.

There is some evidence, however, that anthropologists and sociologists are veering a bit from this mood toward the search for universal standards of value.⁴ Psychologists, particularly those of the psycho-analytic school, likewise are still looking for the universal structure of human nature which would disclose a paradigm for normal or natural functioning such that all behavior could be estimated in terms of it.

The pattern of the good life may be a logical imperative, but it does not alter the fact that neither philosophers nor educators agree on any particular description of such a pattern nor on any metaphysical system from which it conceivably could be derived. This situation puts educators in an awkward position. If the educator grants the adult learner unqualified autonomy, then the problem of aims in adult education becomes, so far as the educator is concerned, a problem of means; in short, the problem disappears. On the other hand, the attempts to formulate principles that would enable the adult educator to shape the learner's choices are somewhat forlorn because (1) they are not universally acknowledged, or (2) they transform adults into children, or (3) they transform adults into wards of the State.

It would seem that the principle which educators are looking for will have to partake of at least two of the approaches that have been discussed. It will have to give up a priori universality in favor of empirical verification by the adult learner. Further, it will have to be translated in problematic situations that are generated by the strains and stresses of role-playing in the culture of the learner. More systematically stated, the principle will have to meet the following requirements:

1. It should be general enough to prevent any adult from logically denying its relevance to himself. Every adult, regardless of station, age, and previous learning must judge the principle as valid for himself and all other adults.

4. See for example, Clyde Kluckhohn, "Universal Categories of Culture" in *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 507-23. Also F. S. C. Northrop, "Ethical Relativity in the Light of Recent Legal Science, Clyde Kluckhohn, "Ethical Relativity," and Hadley Cantril, "Ethical Relativity from the Transactional Point of View" in *The Journal of Philosophy*, 52:53, 1955, pp. 649-86.

2. This principle will have to be translatable into directives that have the force of obligation. In other words, it will have to have the character of a demand upon the learner that he can ignore only at the cost of logical error and psychological discomfort (feelings of guilt).

3. The principles in 2. should permit translation into modes of specific instruction or educational areas that seem to follow from them, or at least are not incompatible with them. This is the level of curriculum design and course offerings.

4. These formulations must all meet the test of adaptability to individual differences among adult learners without self-stultification. This means that the educator is not obligated to take into account all possible variations of all possible learners, and not even all the variations among the actual learners.

5. Finally, any set of principles and sub-principles must not violate the ultimate autonomy of the adult learner. It must permit him the privilege of choosing to be other than what the principles indicate, i.e., not to realize any given pattern of values, to be wrong-headed and even wrong-hearted. This means that the principles cannot have coercion or intimidation as components.

These are rugged requirements. What sort of formulation can hope to fill them?

The Cultural Predicament

At the highest level of generality it would be the imperative to realize the highest possible positive value. This imperative is general and categorical. No man, once he understands the concepts involved, can deny the relevance of the principle to himself. As a matter of practice, the imperative is too general, precisely because it comes very close to saying nothing in particular. Nevertheless, it is not a simple tautology, and we can give empirical meaning to the constituent concepts.

By value is here meant (a) the immediate experiencing of some object or activity as enjoyable or satisfactory (positive value) or repulsive (negative value), and (b) the reflective estimate of the experience on some criterion. In other words, every value experience has an immediate and a reflective phase. A melody as heard is immediately felt to have certain quality. Upon reflection it may be judged to be appropriate to the taste of

romantic adolescents, technically awkward, and historically related to Elizabethan drama. These judgments may be doubted and challenged in a way that immediate experiences cannot.

Pedagogically, both phases are equally indispensable. However, the immediate phase is what is common to all men at all times. All men everywhere have the direct experience of beauty, friendship, ugliness, loneliness, love and hate, sanctity-profanity, well being-misery, truth-falsity, right-wrong, good-evil. Education and experience merely diversify the range and kinds of objects that arouse these responses. Without the direct experience, there would be nothing for the culture to diversify and nothing to develop.

The reflective phase is necessary because, if education can have any influence on taste (i.e., the quality of preferred experience), it will exert it by way of reflection upon the direct experience of ourselves, of those we know, and of mankind.

It is also advisable to distinguish types of value in order to classify the diverse value experiences that can be identified. One could argue a long time about the unity and diversity of values, whether the values of truth, beauty, and goodness, for example, are all aspects of one value or really different from each other. But whatever the ultimate answer to this question may be, it is a simple fact of experience that people do not confuse the joy of winning a prize with that of seeing a long absent friend, nor the excitement of watching a football game with that of romantic love. Differentiating value experiences into the economic, recreational, associational, intellectual, moral, religious, and aesthetic helps educators to diagnose the individual's needs in the way of value-education, and, of course, to prescribe for these needs. This analysis serves as a prophylactic against excessive vagueness in discussing the good life.

By levels of value experience is meant the degree of connoisseurship the individual exhibits within any given class of value objects. In this sense, the expert chef's experiencing of a dish presumably is different from and "higher" than that of a hungry infant. Granted that the hungry infant may have an experience equally intense or even more intense, no one would argue that the infant made the same discriminations as did the chef. On this view the difference in discrimination would also affect the quality of the whole flavor Gestalt.

Once the learner identifies the diverse value areas within his own experience and recognizes the different levels at which he realizes them, it is not a great step to acknowledge that (1) all human beings "need" to realize these values at some level and (2) that one level may be "better" than another. True, he may do nothing to alter the level of his value realization, but he cannot without complete thoughtlessness deny the relevance of "improving" value experience to his own life.

Relevance, however, is not enough. The learner has to feel the obligation to maximize his and everyone else's positive value experience. Now in one sense whenever an adult learner embarks upon education he does implicitly assert the wish to raise the level of some phase of his value experience. But this inclination to improve value experience, in accordance perhaps with a Kantian austerity, is still not enough. It is still far from regarding self-improvement as a duty that every adult ought to acknowledge as a claim upon him. And without such a universal obligation, adult education must remain an ad hoc morally toothless arrangement, however ingenious and persuasive it may be in practice.

The problem is: what can the source of this obligation be? One might derive it from a religious doctrine which holds that man is given his talents on lease, so to speak. They are his to nourish and not to neglect. He is then obligated to God to develop these talents. It could be derived from a theory of personality that defined happiness, well-being, perfection, and human nature itself in terms of realizing value potentials.⁵ Or it could be founded on some theory that certain ideals are inherent in the structure of man and reality, and that these exert inescapable demands upon each individual for their fulfillment.

There are two sides to this derivation. One is philosophical and pertains to the philosopher of education. If the derivation satisfies his logical fastidiousness and that of a fair proportion of his colleagues, that ends the matter. Accordingly, different educational writers justify the demand on man to improve himself according to their own philosophic predilections. This is exciting business, but not for the adult learner who, for the most part, is innocent of all philosophic theory. Since it is he who is to feel obligated, and because no one philosophic or religious credo com-

5. Cf. H. S. Broudy, Building a Philosophy of Education (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1954), Part II.

mands overwhelming allegiance, educators invoke another mode of deriving or generating obligation to self-cultivation (adult education).

This other mode is pedagogical. It tries to reveal to the learner through education that the joys he actually seeks, the miseries he dreads, the anxieties and guilt feelings that bedevil him are themselves the results of claims that are already exacting their due from him; claims that have their obscure origins in his own history, his own nature, and in the social arrangements devised by his culture in its long course of development. It goes without saying that these two modes of justification should be logically consistent. In other words, all actual psychological claims are always subject to philosophical criticism and evaluation.

An instance of a psychological existing claim is a value commitment that the learner has already made and which even after considerable reflection he would not wish to revoke. Furthermore, in the value pattern of this commitment are vectors that seem to strain in opposite directions. The learner and other participants feel the results of this struggle without knowing why or exactly how it is taking place. The attempt to adjust to so dimly discerned forces produces action that makes sense, but only in terms of short-term goals and the relief of immediate distresses. When a course of action designed to achieve a goal generates forces or factors that endanger that goal, there arises a dialectical situation. When progress toward one goal endangers progress toward another, there is a conflict situation. Men living in such situations can be said to be in an existential or cultural predicament.

In our own culture this existential predicament is set up by the demands of the modern system of mass production on one hand, and the demands of the American Creed, to use Gunnar Myrdal's phrase (in An American Dilemma), on the other, and the predicament is universal, although each individual has his own perspective and his own perception of it.

The pedagogical use of this predicament consists in making every adult aware of its nature and his own role in it. To insist that adults understand it is not to violate their autonomy because even their evaluation of free choice is itself part of the predicament—and to be or not in the predicament is not really a matter of choice.

Let us now turn to this predicament and sketch in the factors that

produce the tension and conflict. Let us also note in passing that this approach is allied to, yet different from, the social roles approach. Here we are concentrating on the obstacles placed in the way of playing these roles by the culture as furnishing the impetus to adult education; we are not using the ideal family member or citizen as a model for prescribing adult learning.

There are two antagonists in the dialectic of American life and perhaps of modern civilized life everywhere. One is the logic and dynamic of large scale machine industry and mass production of goods and services. The other is a traditionally and psychologically powerful allegiance to the values of individual freedom and excellence. To the degree that the development of one factor endangers the other, we have a serious conflict that plays itself out in the arenas of both social and individual life.

This is not the place to explore the techniques of mass production. Nor is it the place to grind any particular economic axe. But it is hardly controversial that mass production demands the standardization of both parts and workers. Automation simply carries this essential feature of mass production to its logical conclusion.

This type of economic organization puts a premium on planning and co-ordination because it has to solve the problems of interdependence. Mass production makes the whole earth the unit of production. Even a minor catastrophe such as a flood or a bad snowstorm demonstrates to the forgetful ones the degree of their dependence on others for everything from their breakfast foods to appropriate funeral arrangements.

In return for this co-operation Americans particularly, but indeed civilized people everywhere, are given the highest material standard of life the world has known, and one that promises as much more for the future as it has delivered in the past. If this were the whole transaction, most people would accept it cheerfully. Even the most competitive-minded entrepreneurs can always find room in the system for their special talents to get more than the average share of wealth, power, and freedom of action. Educationally, this highly organized mode of production does mean highly specialized training for everyone. Some of this is at the very lowest skill level and some at the very highest level. Nevertheless, this situation presents no theoretically insoluble problems, however complicated and vexing they may be administratively.

More important is the threat to men's individuality in the political, moral, and cultural areas of life. What does it mean to "make up one's own mind" on any of the major political issues? For Americans does it perhaps mean making a study of all the factors relevant to socialized medicine or the sales tax? If so, how many are willing or able to undertake this? Does it mean to decide whether to follow the decisions of one's political party or one's labor union? Does it mean to wait until the pollsters indicate the tide of opinion? Does it mean to follow one's emotional commitments? As has been pointed out so often, the less individuals amount to in the power struggle, the more groups become the units of action and decision.

The same sort of considerations seriously limit the freedom of the individual in his moral behavior and in the realization of values in all areas. Mass media of communication by the very fact of having to be mass media determine taste and its cultivation as well as the ideas that can be circulated and used. Similarly, it is difficult to give meaning to moral responsibility in a complicated institutional system in which no individual has real responsibility. "Red tape" and "buck passing" are necessary concomitants of the inability or unwillingness of individuals to take responsibility for actions that are the end results of numerous factors and forces over which they have no real control.

The System thus generates demands upon the individual that put a premium on certain personality traits. As Reisman has noted, the premium on being "other directed" is high. Co-operativeness, willingness to proceed through channels, respect for the hierarchical distribution of power in the corporative and governmental structure, uniformity in work and play, these are among some of the demands generated by the System itself. The opposites of these qualities are, of course, at a discount except under unusual conditions, to be discussed later.

On the other hand, the American Creed, or what we might call the democratic commitment, has its own system of demands, premiums, and discounts. The picture of the American citizen as economically free to move in many directions, free to make up his own mind politically, free to assume moral responsibility for his acts is almost ineradicable even in our time—even when these freedoms are severely curtailed by the demands of a mass productive system.

The situation is further complicated by the diverse origins of the

American Creed. It is a bewildering mixture of elements and emphases derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition, English Common Law, the Greeks, the Renaissance, and our own pioneering days. Some of these values clash, e.g., the ideal of individual excellence and equality, respect for law and contempt for it; the pagan virtues and the religious ones. This admixture leads to a remarkable fact, viz., that all Americans accept the Creed despite diverse interpretations of it.

But there is a limit to the elasticity of even so flexible a doctrine as the American Creed, and the limit gets nearer as the System of mass production develops. Marx outlined the logic of mass production. Mannheim and others have explored its meaning for mass democracy. If we give up mass production, the conflict is resolved. If we give up the American Creed, the conflict is resolved. But if we want the blessings of both, we cannot disclaim the problem and predicament of our times.

We can now restate our educational problem as follows: how can adult education help realize the maximum of value in a culture such as we have described? The obvious answer is by making every individual aware of the nature of the predicament and his own relation to it. And this answer gives us the means of passing to the next lower level of generality in the statement of aims for adult education. The awareness of the predicament would involve the understanding of both the mass production system and its implications on one hand, and the understanding of the American Creed and its value implications, on the other. Taken together, they cover a vast learning territory.

Will such knowledge generate the feeling of obligation to self-cultivation for the sake of a different level of value realization or will it not? Educators do know that often it does. And if the autonomy of the adult is to be maintained, what alternatives to this intellectual approach are there? Those who fail to be motivated in this way may be salvaged by education that coaxes them through more concrete, less intellectualized value-experimentation, but the problem will still remain of persuading them even to begin the experiment. On the other hand, one can with some justification argue that it is a social duty to know the design and operation of the culture in which one has to live anyhow, and one can be persuasive that such knowledge may lead to better action. Indeed, one could argue with good reasons that perhaps the whole culture itself depends for its very existence on such awareness. There is a sense in which it is possible to

say to Mr. X that he ought to know his culture and that society expects him to know it. But it is difficult to take this tone or attitude toward Mr. X in telling him that he ought to like Brahms and modern furniture.

Another argument for this approach is the practical one that for most adults this is a kind of knowledge for which their variegated formal schooling has best prepared them.

But there is a less favorable aspect to this approach. It is another phase of the dialectic of mass production, viz., that a high order of knowledge and skill is used by the few to make a high order of knowledge and skill unnecessary for the many. Thanks to the automotive engineer's knowledge and skill, others need to know nothing about automobile engines.

It is easy, therefore, to lead a pretty good life with a minimum of effort, and this applies not only to the material aspects of life but to all the others as well. Art, music, drama, literature, and entertainment are more freely available to more people than ever before. Travel, hobbies, and many services once the exclusive privilege of the wealthy are now open to the average working man. Under these circumstances young and old may well ask why anything "better" should be required of them by themselves.

But easy as it is to live the average life, so is it hard to get above the average. The competition so clamped down in the ranks of labor burns more fiercely in the upper echelons of management. Although it takes very little effort to vote with the bloc, be amused with the crowd, think and dress as everyone else does, the man who wants to play the role of the free independent citizen, voting according to knowledge, and acting according to moral responsibility faces an imposingly strenuous task.

Incidentally, this paradox may serve to explain the bi-modal criticism of modern education. For on one side schools are criticized as abandoning knowledge and virtue in favor of "life adjustment," and on the other hand the very same schools are castigated as being training grounds for the elite and as purgatory for the non-academic American youth who are uncomfortable with books and ideas. We can understand this apparent inconsistency if we realize that the criticism comes from different perspectives of the paradox. For the average life perhaps even the reading, writing, and arithmetic now offered by the elementary schools is more than enough, but for the few who want to rise above the

average in any value area what they now get even in college is probably insufficient.

This paradox perhaps points to its own remedy, viz., the creation of a mass climate or atmosphere favorable to adult education, especially the kind of adult education that emphasizes self-cultivation. We shall return to this point a bit later. Here it is sufficient to note once more the importance of motivation in adult education. Sporadic curiosity, desire for superficial culture, and quick skills—these motivations are easy enough to secure. And so are course-takers who are rewarded by pay increases. Far more difficult is it to persuade anyone—young or old—to undertake great labors when there is no pinch of necessity and no prod of scarcity. Psychologically this means that the malaise so typical of plenty, boredom, anxiety, and tension have to be seized and interpreted as symptoms of the need for a higher level of value realization.

If awareness of the predicament is taken as the guide to adult education, two major learning routes are discernible. They would be (1) knowledge about the culture and (2) knowledge about one's own relation to it. Both are investigative, analytical procedures designed to produce understandings and are, therefore, primarily cognitive. Just what courses, course sequences, lectures, or group devices one chooses to achieve this goal is an important matter, but not the crucial issue here. Because cultural knowledge is a fairly well understood term, there is no point in discussing its specific content.

Self-knowledge, on the other hand, is a less straightforward term. It can mean an awareness of one's own skills, abilities, assets, and liabilities. On a deeper level, it can mean the ferreting out of hidden motivations and peculiar quirks of personality—a sort of self-psychoanalysis. It can also mean an examination of one's value system and one's achievements within it. Usually all three go into self-knowledge, but clearly each calls for a somewhat different learning procedure.

Self-knowledge is especially needed because by the time of adulthood the individual has already committed himself to one pattern of value rather than another, or to patterns that may not be compatible with his own capacities or with each other.

An adult is limited in the amount of experimentation life will allow. Family, job, friends, and social roles all weave strands about him in such

fashion that to break one is to disturb all the others. Mobile as people are today, moving a household from one town to another is still not lightly undertaken because it dislocates more than job and residence. Similarly, with the breaking up of a marriage: it is rarely so simple as physical separation. Financial, social, and prestige patterns have been woven that the separation would destroy, and many a marriage remains in force only because the prospect of tearing these down is so distasteful.

Every moment of existence by actualizing certain possibilities annihilates certain others. Even by the time of adolescence there is strong pressure to end the experimental period of life. A great deal of modern Existentialism, especially of the Sartrean variety, gets its life and force precisely from this problem of commitment.

Knowledge about self-in-society, if successfully pursued, should eventuate into an individual design for further adult education. This will take the form of a prescription for cultivating knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to free the individual for higher levels of value realization.

Diagnosing and filling the needs for knowledge present no unusual albeit no easy problems. In the matter of attitudes the going is rougher because of their variety and hiddenness. Nevertheless, certain attitudes hold a privileged place. These are the democratic attitudes—or those attitudes that a democratic style of life seems to demand. These are not the attitudes of adjustment and accommodation merely. They are called democratic here in the honorific sense of being essential to rational group deliberation and decision. They are, therefore, indispensable to reaching the higher levels of those associational values involved in collective action in behalf of the Common Good. Or to put it differently, it is the life of the process whereby man can control the System from which both his blessings and problems flow.

We can conveniently distinguish three such attitudes:

1. An attitude favorable to participation in the group's deliberations. Outwardly, this is expected to take the form of suggestions, volunteering criticisms, and the like. Inwardly, the individual is expected to feel a compulsion to contribute to the common store in all matters of the Common Good and to feel guilty if he fails to do so. But his contributions cannot outrun his resources, hence the obligation to cultivate these resources

for the Common Good. Failure to do so will thus give rise to guilt feelings.

2. An attitude strongly opposed to ignoring the interest of any member of the group, even if this interest runs counter to the Common Good as determined by the majority. The democratic process needs this kind of attitude on the part of its members if it is not to deteriorate into tyranny by a majority.

3. Finally, to operate in a democratic atmosphere, participants have to develop a certain objectivity or toughness of the psychological skin. We have to learn not to regard a decision by the group which is adverse to our wishes as a rejection of ourselves as persons.

To these attitudes one can add skills required for carrying on group deliberations and arriving at group decisions (structuring of problems, gathering relevant information, weighing evidence, removing emotional blocks, finding common ground, etc.). Presumably the vigorous infant disciplines of human relations, group dynamics, and group therapy can be relied upon to help with techniques for carrying out this type of attitudinal training.

But life is not simply a succession of collective efforts. Why a man cannot enjoy the opera or abstract painting or the plays of Ibsen may be sociological questions and undoubtedly there are sociological answers. Yet the repair of these "deficiencies" and analogous ones in areas of religion, ethics, truth, friendship, and love does not have to wait upon social revolutions. On the contrary, they point to the need of individual cultivation in certain areas of knowledge, skill, and attitude.

The resources for repairing these deficiencies have already been developed in American adult education. The very richness and variety of the cafeteria approach in adult education can be utilized to meet the individual needs of the adult learner. Without the prolegomenon of self-in-society knowledge, the richness is a tribute to the uncritical autonomy of the adult learner and the uncritical indulgence of the adult educator. With this knowledge, the variety makes rationally designed programs of adult education possible.

Some Implications and Problems

The approach suggested in the preceding sections raises some perplexing questions of theory and practice.

1. This approach means, presumably, that every adult learner should be directed, advised, cajoled into undergoing experiences designed to acquaint him with the cultural predicament and self-knowledge with respect to it. What, however, does one say to a man who, needing more money to feed his brood, wants a course in oil burner repairs to augment his income? Is one to say to him: "You will have to take Course 212F in Modern Civilization and Course 341C in Self-Analysis before you can take the oil burner course"?

The answer is both "yes" and "no." It is "no" for the same reason that one would not refuse a man a drink of water until he has undergone a complete physical examination to verify either his thirstiness or physiological need of fluid. Here is a specific need that calls for a specific unambiguous remedy. Presumably there are many such instances. But are these typical of education or of first-aid? True, economic goods are a necessary condition for nearly all value realization. Nevertheless, we can distinguish a program of self-study that may, among other results, re-orient an individual's economic efforts from a quick ad hoc dose of instruction administered to increase a specific skill.

The answer is "yes" for this client because he needs adult education as a man, and if educators can guide him into it, they should do so. Still it is conceivable that some agencies might wish to devote themselves either to adult education or to ad hoc training and some to both. This does not matter provided the two types are clearly distinguished.⁶

2. Adult education so far has been discussed as a transaction with individual clients. This, in the last analysis, is correct. Yet because the adult educator's fundamental problem is to persuade adults to cultivate their potentiality for value experience, every obstacle thereto points to the need for a determined effort by agencies of adult education to create the general climate favorable to self-cultivation. Radio, television, popular magazines, newspapers, and forums are the obvious media, and perhaps adult education has been doing all it can in these directions. The strategy of this mode of adult education has two phases: one is the gen-

6. It should be noted, however, that this distinction is grounded less on the nature of a given "course" than on its role in the total educational program of the adult. Thus oil burner repair would be adult education in the context of a total program, whereas a study of Plato's Republic undertaken as a whim or to furnish an instructor with something to teach might be ad hoc training.

eral diffusion of knowledge of all kinds; the other is the exposure of the people to levels of value experience somewhat higher than, or at least different from, those the commercial criteria will ordinarily permit. Neither phase would have instruction as such as its primary objective.

The goal is rather a softening up of the people, or, better, an awakening on their part to their predicaments and problems, their duties to themselves and the social order. It is the mass propaganda phase of the educational process whereby the individual is brought to commit himself to self-cultivation.

3. But when all is tried, said, and done, there will be some, perhaps many, who will not be persuaded by any efforts the adult educator can exert. There will be those who after acknowledging intellectually the possibility of and even the need for self-cultivation will nevertheless not commit themselves to it. Is this a valid criticism of the approach under discussion?

I would argue that this is not the case. We are talking about education and not about a scheme of psychological manipulation by which a whole people can be made to feel and think as the dominant group would like to have them feel and think. I take it that education is, in its best sense, a process of increasing the freedom of the learner by expanding the volume of his possibility, especially through knowledge. One would be in a curious position if one were to expand possibility, on one hand, and secretly try to destroy the freedom of choice, on the other. But freedom means freedom to choose the less good and even the evil as well as the good and the better. Even the best efforts of educators, then, will sometimes be frustrated by other formative factors and circumstances.

The theoretical approach to adult education here suggested should be judged not by its ability to make all adults or even the majority of them zealous self-cultivators. All one can require is that such a theory shall be rational in its goals and that it can be translated into an educational program for those it has been able to persuade. The important point about it is that it gives the educator a justification for undertaking the persuasion.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that what has been discussed here is not a specific program of adult education, but rather a way of looking at adult education by the adult educator. In being lukewarm toward the

cafeteria approach and the theory of social role playing as guides for adult education, I was influenced by the anarchy of the first and the potentiality for tyranny of the second. Yet by using the obstacles to social role-playing actually operating in present-day culture and the rich variety developed by educators' cafeteria efforts, an approach may be developed that not only can meet the theoretical requirements, but which may also have the psychological potency needed to motivate the adult learner. The goal of any adequate approach is a rational justification for guiding the adult learner without destroying his autonomy. Or to put it differently, to have him substitute an informed and reflective autonomy for a merely capricious one.

(Continued from inside front cover)

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(Continued on inside back cover)



*A Report of a Visit Sponsored by
The Department of Extra-Mural Studies,
The University College of the West Indies
and the Ford Foundation*

**ADULT EDUCATION IN THE
BRITISH WEST INDIES**

CYRIL O. HOULE

Professor of Education, University of Chicago

CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

THE CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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FOREWORD

Several months ago Mr. Houle was kind enough to let me read a copy of the report which he had just made on his visit to the Extra-Mural Department of the University of the West Indies. As soon as I read it I felt that it would be wise and constructive to share the major portion of this report with the field. It was also obvious that Mr. Houle's report would make an excellent companion piece to our recently published report on adult education in Australia and New Zealand written by Paul Sheats.

When I approached Mr. Houle about publication of the report, he pointed out that it had not been written with publication in mind, and, furthermore, that the major purpose of his visit was not to secure material for a publication. He emphasized that, in carrying out this assignment for the Ford Foundation, he was carrying out certain functions that had been agreed to by himself and the sponsoring foundation. These functions were: to be of general assistance to the Extra-Mural Department and its various staff members; to help the Extra-Mural Department in its relationship with other institutions and associations of adult education; to enlarge popular understanding of and support for the work of the Extra-Mural Department and adult education generally; to help develop the larger international community of those engaged in adult education; and finally, to inform himself about adult education in the Caribbean.

In line with this last function, however, we prevailed upon Mr. Houle to share this information with the field. The publication, as it appears here, consists of the report presented to the Foundation with some of the more personal comments and specific recommendations which are not of general interest omitted.

As plans for publication of the report proceeded, we asked Roby Kidd, who spent almost a year in the West Indies, to write some reactions to it. Mr. Kidd tells us that as he read Mr. Houle's document, he became so interested in it that he felt he wanted both to comment on Mr. Houle's report and also to expand on the idea of the "New Missionary." Despite the fact that Mr. Houle insists he went to the West Indies not as a "Mis-

sionary," but for a much more limited purpose, we nevertheless feel that Mr. Kidd's remarks are apropos and provide an interesting and worthwhile epilogue to the report.

Our thanks go, then, to Mr. Houle for his report, to the Ford Foundation for their willingness to let us publish it, and to Mr. Kidd for his comments and reactions.

A. A. Liveright, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

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INTRODUCTION

Among the many nations now moving toward cultural and political independence, the British West Indies are outstanding for their sustained and systematic development of the processes of adult education. Elsewhere the idea of nationalism is not always accompanied by a determination that the people shall use their franchise wisely, and, even where there is an awareness of the fact that democracy depends on the enlightenment of the citizens, it is sometimes thought that enlightenment will emerge naturally and without conscious planning. But the leaders of the independence movements in the British West Indies have realized that even as they need advanced political and industrial techniques to strengthen their government and their economy, they must use refined and large-scale processes of education to build a responsible citizenry. The influencing of minds is as worthy of careful attention as the building of a dam or the writing of a constitution.

A major instrument of adult education in the Caribbean is the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the West Indies. Acting as a temporary consultant of the Ford Foundation and at the invitation of the Department, I spent seven weeks in the summer of 1959 studying and trying to assist the extra-mural program.

Since the West Indies are so delightful and challenging, there is no dearth of people who visit them on one purposeful mission or another. A fairly large number repay hospitality by telling their hosts how to improve themselves. There are now a number of complete or partial blueprints for the strengthening of the Extra-Mural Department, chiefly because it has already done its work so well that it gives the impression it can do anything. I add myself to the number of advice-givers only at the express request of the Acting Principal of University College and the staff of the Department.

BACKGROUND OF PROGRAM

The beginnings of the West Indian extra-mural program must be traced back to another era and another island.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, England had no fully-developed universities other than Oxford and Cambridge, although other institutions, most notably Durham and London, were already in existence. The situation was soon to change, however. Both the general criticism of the rigidities of the old system and the desire of provincial cities for their own forms of higher education led to a number of efforts to establish new institutions. These endeavors were intensified when, in 1873, Cambridge began the university extension movement, an effort to take lectures and other forms of intellectual activity to the adult population. London and Oxford soon followed the example and around the small adult educational centers which developed there began to grow the nuclei of universities for undergraduates. In other places there was an upward thrust from secondary schools or a broadening out of originally vocational institutions; in both instances, the beginnings of higher education could be discerned.

Gradually there evolved a process by which these small efforts could be guided into full stature. The University of London assumed a protective and monitorial role toward the new institutions, and they came to be called University Colleges. Established structures and sets of operational forms were developed. The students were taught by the faculties of the University Colleges, but they took examinations set by London, and, if they passed those examinations, they secured London degrees. When a University College had attained a stage of sufficient maturity, it was granted a charter which established its separate status and permitted it to grant its own degrees. Almost all of the modern universities of England have proceeded through this process. Since the end of World War II, Nottingham, Southampton, Hull, Leicester, and Exeter have achieved full stature.

This pattern, therefore, came readily and naturally to the minds of those who were appointed in 1943 to a Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. As this Commission and its three Committees (one for West Africa, one for Malaya, and one for the West Indies) considered their task, the evolutionary development suggested by the English experience became a model for the colonies, although certain adaptations were

necessary. The results may now be discovered in the young institutions which have grown up in Malaya, Nigeria, Uganda, Ghana, Southern Rhodesia, and the West Indies. In Malaya, full university status has already been achieved. Elsewhere, the University Colleges are moving through the final stages of their evolution; soon they will probably be judged sufficiently mature to achieve independence.

Meanwhile the university extension movement in the British universities had long since been succeeded—and to some extent swallowed up—by the development of more intensified and larger-scale programs of tutorial study. This work began soon after the turn of the century and gradually expanded. Soon after the close of World War I, university departments of extra-mural studies were initiated and, before very long, extra-mural study had become a common and accepted part of British higher education, receiving special grants from the Ministry of Education.

When new universities on the British model were developed in the colonies, therefore, it seemed natural that they should contain departments of extra-mural studies. The commission which recommended the establishment of these universities was explicit concerning the need for higher adult education. "In every colony served by a university," it said, "there should certainly be one centre for extra-mural studies, and . . . there should be similar centres wherever large urban or industrialized localities provide opportunities for part-time study." Following this recommendation, such departments have been developed by almost all of the new institutions.

The staff of these departments usually includes three kinds of appointees. The director and his administrative assistants are located at the University College itself. The resident tutors have responsibility for organizing and conducting the programs in a given territory, usually using local people to serve as part-time tutors. The staff tutors are specialists in a given subject-matter area (such as drama, economics, or social work) or a special methodology (such as radio), who provide stimulative and supportive services throughout the area served by the University College.¹

1. This form of organization is, in microcosm, very like that used in American land-grant colleges for the development of the Co-operative Extension Service.

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM

Present Pattern

In the West Indies, the new University College was established on the outskirts of Kingston, Jamaica, in 1946. Philip Sherlock, a distinguished educator and political leader of Jamaica (who had been a member of the special West Indian committee of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies) accepted the invitation to become Director of Extra-Mural Studies. His was the second appointment at the new institution. The program which was developed in subsequent years has been a direct extension of his own personal leadership.

As the program has evolved, it has adopted the following pattern:

1. The central administration and most of the staff tutors are based in Jamaica. Dr. Sherlock, who has long served as Vice-Principal of the University College, is now acting as Principal in an interim capacity. In his absence, Dr. Rawle Farley, staff tutor for industrial relations, has become Acting Director of the Extra-Mural Department.

2. There are seven resident tutors, one in each of the following territories:

Barbados
British Guiana
British Honduras
Jamaica
Leeward Islands (Anguilla, Antigua-Barbuda, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts)
Trinidad and Tobago
Windward Islands (Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent)

3. There are four staff tutors, one each in drama, industrial relations, social work, and radio.

Financial support comes from a number of sources, the chief of which are: the general budget of the University College, fees charged to students, grants from territorial governments, grants from industry and from voluntary bodies, and foundation grants.

Responsibilities of Department

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies, growing and developing, as it has, over more than a dozen years, and serving, as it does, the incredibly varied needs and interests of adults in a far-flung geographic area, has a program far too protean to be fitted into neat categories. The major

responsibilities of the Department, however, appear to be these:

1. To provide an adult educational service for the people of the British Caribbean. The subject matter dealt with in this service has ranged throughout the fields of human knowledge and has been at every level from the most abstruse to the most immediately practical, serving people of widely varying backgrounds. The major forms of instruction are:

Organized courses, either concentrated in a short period of time or extended for a longer period.

Residential schools.

Lecture and concert series.

Special gatherings or occasions, such as art or drama festivals.

Radio programs.

The development and service of special interest groups, such as those concerned with industrial relations or with drama.

The teaching is often done by the members of the Extra-Mural staff themselves, supplemented by their colleagues in the University College. Chiefly, however, the teaching is done by qualified part-time tutors who usually take on this responsibility in addition to some other major employment. As Kidd points out, "Several of the Chief Ministers, many cabinet ministers, many civil servants, business and professional men, and teachers have served as Extra-Mural teachers, some of them over many years."²

2. To foster all forms of adult education. In each of the territories served, there are many different programs and agencies of adult education, but ordinarily the local representative of the Extra-Mural Department is accepted as the person who is most clearly and centrally concerned with the development of this whole field of work. This viewpoint is reinforced by his connection with the University College and his capacity as a scholar and community leader. Also there has been a long identification in England of the term "adult education" with the work of universities. The Extra-Mural staff member has a responsibility, therefore, to try not only to develop other forms of adult education than his own, but also to establish such forms of co-ordination as appear to be possible.

3. To represent the University College of the West Indies in the field. The Extra-Mural Department is not designated as the official field agent of the University College, and this function is shared with other parts of

2. J. R. Kidd, Adult Education in the Caribbean, p. 80.

the institution. There is naturally a tendency, however, for the resident and staff tutors to be viewed as the major agents of the College in the field, particularly outside Jamaica. The task of representation is a broad and often complex one: extending the work of the various faculties and departments on the campus; counseling prospective undergraduates; working with the Guild of Graduates; assisting travelling staff members; handling public relations; maintaining liaison with the local members of the University College's governing body; handling relationships with local governmental bodies; and coping with the conflicts and misunderstandings which inevitably arise in interpreting the College to local authorities.

4. To advance scholarship. The Department carries out this responsibility officially through the publication of a journal, Caribbean Quarterly, and the stimulation of papers and monographs which usually deal with various aspects of British Caribbean life. In addition, the tutors are expected to keep up in their own fields of study and, if possible, to publish studies and books of their own.

These four functions are essential, though often conflicting.

They are essential because, under present or foreseeable conditions, none of them can be dispensed with. The Department must have its own program or it will have no central reason for existence. It must develop other forms of adult education both because it should exercise leadership and because otherwise it will itself be drawn into a morass of services in which finally it becomes all things to all people. It must extend and represent the University College, partly because there is no other unit which can do so as well, and partly because identification with the whole institution provides essential support for the Department's own program. It must advance scholarship because otherwise it will cease to be a true part of the University College, and also because it must attract and hold staff members who want some opportunity for study and research.

These functions conflict partly because of limited resources. When there is so much to be done, one man or one group of men cannot find the time and money to do everything well. There are, however, deeper sources of conflict which arise essentially from differing philosophies and conceptions. A man who is a scholar or who is eager to build adult-oriented educational activities may not care to be what he calls a "public relations man" for the institution as a whole. The desire to develop and defend the Department's own program may impede a willingness to foster other

forms of adult education. The need to develop a separate extra-mural program, with its roots in the community and in the needs of the people, may run counter to the requirement to be merely the representative—and, in a sense, the servant—of the whole institution. And, always, other activities get in the way of the exacting and time-devouring demands of scholarship.

In most of the affairs of life there are mixed motives and multiple purposes. The staff of the Extra-Mural Department realizes very well that such is their own situation. They cannot hold fast to some one objective but must make judgments, day by day, as to how they may best use their energy to carry out their four broad responsibilities. If the result is constant and continuing compromise, then that is the condition under which they, like most men, must lead their lives. Certainly it is the common lot of those who carry the university into the community.

STRENGTHS AND PROBLEMS

Strengths

The net impression which must result from any study of the West Indian extra-mural program is one of great admiration.

The times and the social setting have been conducive to the growth of adult education. The serious civil disturbances in the late thirties not only made the rest of the world more aware of the West Indies but also shocked the people of the Caribbean to a greater sense of the need to improve their way of life. New leaders emerged with new and conflicting solutions. But amidst all of the clash of opinion, as it revolved around party battles, economic struggles, nationalism, and federation, there has been a remarkable emphasis on the importance of education. Politicians are greatly helped in their careers by the possession of doctorates, and at least one of them (Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad) has come to power by casting himself in the role of teacher to his people, delivering long formal lectures on political economy to throngs assembled in a public square. There is a widespread awareness of the fact that neither the government nor private industry can be effectively administered except by those who have been trained for their work, and a visitor learns to expect that a certain number of offices will be empty because their usual occupants are away "doing a course." There are an amazing number of people who study independently to prepare themselves for various sorts of ex-

aminations or certificates or credentials, and when it is said of a man that he possesses the "qualifications" for a job, it is usually meant that he has the formal educational requirements. At a more practical level, there are widespread efforts to improve the lot of the people through literacy, improved health measures, new agricultural techniques, or other means of individual or community improvement. In the arts, there is increasing emphasis on music, drama, the dance, and literature, accompanied by the belief that their practice and their appreciation must be advanced through education.

The central theme in all this activity is the emergence of the West Indian identity—political, economic, social, and cultural. One view is that everything which is West Indian should be emphasized to give it a chance to flourish, even though, in the process, some gifts from other cultures may be lost. Naturally not everyone agrees. A distinguished Barbadian, for example, was critical of the University College for its reputed favoritism to local talent. "The University College was created," he said, "to help the West Indies and not to provide jobs for West Indians." But his is an unpopular view, and the vehemence of his manner indicated that he was aware of that fact. In truth, one must agree that the desire to develop the West Indian identity has far deeper roots than the petty localism which, in the United States, insists that jobs in Indiana, say, must go to Hoosiers. It springs from a sense of stirring and awakening after a long slumber, of moving into the mainstream of world politics, of emergent nationhood, and of a new ability to take pride in one's own origins. "The problem," says Philip Sherlock, "is how to preserve the dynamic, the creative energy, and at the same time to liberalize the sentiment."

No man could have been better suited to direct the Extra-Mural Department under such circumstances than Dr. Sherlock. One of the central leaders in the educational and political groups which emerged in Jamaica in the late thirties and early forties, he was eminently fitted, both by his own distinguished academic background and by his widespread personal acceptance throughout the West Indies, to take advantage of the emerging situation and to use it to the fullest to establish a program of high-level adult education throughout the Caribbean. But also he was familiar with the world scene in adult education and particularly with developments in the United Kingdom. He was therefore uniquely able not only to build solidly upon the British model of extra-mural work but also to provide the local adaptations which would fit it to the West Indian scene, and, as a

strategist, he found it possible to establish the program in a preferred position almost everywhere.

One needs only to travel about to realize the extraordinary acceptance of the program. Testimony to this widespread acceptance was given by J. R. Kidd after his lengthy stay in the British West Indies in 1957-58:

In his visits in all of the territories the writer has found two men only who do not favour the University College undertaking a broad programme of adult education. The first belongs to a political party that has taken a position in opposition to the University College; the other is a man who claims that the University College is bound to fail anyway, so why bother about Extra-Mural work. Without exception, everyone else in a list of several hundred people, in all walks of life, favours an extension of the leadership of the University College. This includes the governors and chief ministers of the main territories as well as foundation heads and others who have visited the area.³

This acceptance is by no means purely political, although the staff of the Department is careful to maintain its political contacts. The program has now been in operation for twelve years and has had time to become established in the consciousness of both leaders and people, particularly in those places in which there has been unusually competent and continuing staff leadership. Extra-mural work is an activity which people feel they should support, particularly when they have themselves had a good experience in one of its programs. But, even if they have not, the work seems to conform to present aspirations and to be designed to achieve worthwhile ends.

This fact is reinforced by the appreciation of the program shown by those commissions which have examined its work closely. The Pen on Committee, made up of distinguished British educators, commented in 1954:

In the activities of the Extra-Mural Department, there is evidence of a contribution of high academic standards and a realisation of the special circumstances and requirements of the various territories of the West Indies.

The Cato Committee, made up of West Indian and British leaders, concluded in 1958 that:

The existence and widespread activities of the Extra-Mural Department, in its teaching, publication and use of the radio, is evidence of the College's anxious concern to serve the West Indian community

3. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

by the wide dissemination of learning and study in a variety of subjects. We need not emphasize again our belief in the great importance of this work; nor do we think that the College is likely to underestimate it.

Problems

Can the Program Continue To Be Strong? The history of adult education has a tendency to be episodic. Some kinds of institutions put down roots and remain alive generation after generation; the Danish folk high school is one of these. Others flourish for a time and then either die or sink into a genteel and declining old age.

The West Indian Extra-Mural Department is still too young to have become a permanent and enduring institution. Can it do so? I have no answer, though I have asked myself the question often. Perhaps it has come so insistently to my thoughts because this is a time when questions of future leadership and policy for the Department and the University College are very much in the minds of everyone. There is a sense of shift and change which goes beyond the natural uncertainties of a relatively new institution and which appears to be particularly felt by the staff of the Extra-Mural Department.

There is little danger, of course, of the abandonment of the Department, short of some violent political upheaval, but the program does possess certain troublesome aspects which would appear to be fairly important weaknesses to anyone not aware of the caliber of its staff and of their desire to build more solidly for the future. One notes, for example, the following facts.

After an early growth the program leveled out some years ago and has not expanded since that time. So far as I can determine, the size of the staff has not increased since 1953.

The program is still a highly personal one, depending to a great extent on the influence, ability, and contact of the director and of the particular tutors. When there is a change in resident tutors, there is ordinarily a marked change in program.

There do not appear to be any processes for long-range planning or the building of a statement of major objectives, nor, so far as could be determined, is there any established listing of priorities for future expansion if resources become available.

The recruitment, induction, and training of staff members is largely a matter of chance and opportunism.

The Department has developed few permanent physical facilities of its own.

In any given territory, the program is dispersed in a number of locations, and each course is developed separately, with little sequence evident. Under these circumstances, there is little stability or continuity within the program.

In the beginning, the Extra-Mural Department was virtually alone in the field of adult education. Now there are many agencies at work, and it is often not clear how their work should be related to that of the University College.

Many of the distinguished political leaders who support the extra-mural program do not really understand it very well.

The staff of the Extra-Mural Department seems to pay little attention to helping develop the new leaders who must inevitably take over the major governmental and private responsibilities.

Such facts as these cannot be dismissed. But if they are reviewed it will be noted that they are not symptoms of major and incurable illness nor of some basic lack of adjustment to the environment. They suggest instead some of the changes which must be brought about if the Extra-Mural Department is to mature into a permanent institution, capable of taking on the major responsibilities which still lie ahead.

"The Higher Purposes." The Penson Committee made an observation about the University College as a whole which is highly relevant to the present situation of the Extra-Mural Department. "The College," it said, "is now entering upon one of the most critical periods in its history. It has come into being to some extent piecemeal to meet the specific needs of the region. It must pass through at the next stage a period of consolidation in which the balance of its activities is reviewed and in which growth is essential. Without this growth the higher purposes of the College are bound to be defeated."

The need for higher adult education in the West Indies is expanding, not diminishing. The improvement in primary and secondary education is bringing more of the people to an intellectual sophistication in which

they can profit from university-level work. The number of secondary-school graduates who cannot go on to a university is increasing, and the University College has a special responsibility to help them. Governmental and private services which, under earlier conditions, had to be carried out in a primitive fashion are now becoming better established; their staffs can now profit from the kind of education which would earlier have been too advanced. The geographical dispersion of the people, both among the territories and within a territory, means that individuals with advanced intellectual interests tend to become isolated; they need the University College to bring them together, preferably in residential courses. The rapidly growing number of graduates need the stimulation of higher adult education to keep their minds active and to help them develop their potentialities. The new responsibilities of federation impose an increasing challenge to the Extra-Mural staff to help develop the social, cultural, and educational inter-relationships which are essential to the building of unity in the face of so much diversity. The Department, like the University College itself, must serve its higher purposes.

Central Institutional Need

The major problem of the Extra-Mural Department is that it has not yet been organized in such a way as to capitalize on its successes and discharge the larger responsibilities it should undertake. What the Department has is more important than what it does not have—but what it does not yet have is adequate internal administration. I know few people familiar with its program who would not agree that this is true. Creative pioneers have brought the work to a high level of performance and acceptance, and the past twelve years have been properly devoted to growth and improvisation. Now the time has come to examine that experience, to establish policies and relationships, and to see that they are carried out as efficiently as is possible in so complex and geographically dispersed a service area.

The difficulty is a familiar one. As any organization grows, it must make internal adjustments which permit it to discharge its increased functions. Sometimes these changes occur naturally and almost imperceptibly. In other situations, growth seems to take place in stages. One thinks at once of government bureaus, of private businesses, and, for that matter, of other extra-mural and extension departments, which reach a certain stage of development and then seem, for a while, to lack the

organizational skills to go beyond it. Such a problem is serious and perplexing in each particular case, and it often does not help very much to know that it is a general problem.

The Extra-Mural Department has now gone as far as it can go under its present system of operation. Fortunately it is not likely to remain in a stalemate, for the director and the members of the staff seem to be dissatisfied with things as they are. They display a healthy spirit of self-criticism which appears to be a sign both of a basic security of feeling about the quality of the work they are doing and a willingness to make the necessary changes to improve that work.

Greater institutionalization always has the danger that it will lead to less flexibility, to emphasis on routine rather than program, to the establishment of a deadly uniformity which does not take account of local variations, and to profitless expense. But the lack of structure and policy in the Extra-Mural Department is now so great as to frustrate the best development of the program and even to create some of the very ills which institutionalization is said to cause. Take flexibility, for example. The time of the staff is now taken up to a greater extent than it should by coping with problems which more advanced administrative procedures would solve or prevent. This situation naturally gives rise to a great deal of frustration and accentuates the turnover of staff. If there were clear guides to basic policy, and if procedures were established to deal with commonly recurring situations, the staff members would have much more time and zest to cope with the unusual and the special.

The great distances and the blocks to easy communication in the West Indies present major difficulties to integrated operation. Everyone who writes about the extra-mural program feels compelled to make his own comparison of distances, pointing out, for example, that the difficulties faced by the University College at Kingston are comparable to those which might be found if the University of London had to organize work in Newfoundland or Istanbul. But even though nothing can diminish the actual miles, clear-cut policies, routinized reporting procedures, and the careful and speedy answering of mail would do much to cut down the psychological distance.

The operation of far-flung enterprises on limited budgets is, after all, a fairly familiar phenomenon. In such undertakings, it has been proven wise to have clear central objectives, a minimum number of basic policies,

a sound system of training and induction of new workers, and a substantial measure of freedom within which staff members in the field can operate, sure that, so long as they conform to basic policy, they will be backed by those at the central office. It is widely believed by both staff members and outside observers that the Extra-Mural Department needs to lay greater stress on seeing that these conditions prevail.⁴

THE STAFF

The staff of the Extra-Mural Department includes people with a wide variety of backgrounds and capacities. The observer of the program gains the sense, however, that the staffing policy is to find people who conform to the following standards: They are West Indians who are either well-connected or who have risen by their own abilities from humble circumstances. They are graduates of the University College of the West Indies and, after finishing their studies there, have been away to an outside institution, preferably in England, where they have done first-class work in some subject-matter field. They are relatively young. They have attractive personalities. They are deeply committed to the development of the West Indies and give evidence of being willing to spend their lives in this work.

On the whole, such a staffing policy appears to be sound, particularly now that the number of people who can meet all the tests is increasing. The only problem with such a policy is that it may accentuate rapid turnover. Capable people will find greater opportunities, particularly in the West Indies, where highly trained people are so badly needed. Those who are highly educated in subject-matter fields will want to have the chance to pursue those fields of study and do not find it easy to get caught up in administrative matters. Some people take an extra-mural post because the opportunity they really want has not yet turned up. And so it goes. But if the choice must be made between outstandingly bright and capable young people who will make a contribution, even though there is a risk that they will then move on, and others who, being less able and less well prepared, are certain to remain forever, the decision must surely go to the first group.

4. The original report applied these general observations to a proposed system of organization and administration which is too detailed for inclusion here.

Continuity of Staff. What does need careful attention is not the staffing policy itself but the establishment of procedures which will assure continuity of staff, which will induct new staff members properly, and which will, as a result, cut down on the inevitable turnover.

Consider, for example, the conditions under which a new resident tutor takes up his work. He is often engaged while he is still at school in the United Kingdom or the United States. The details of his employment are usually fixed by letter or by verbal understanding and are sometimes ambiguous so that when the man arrives on the scene the conditions may not be those he believes he was led to expect. There is no coherent or clear-cut plan by which he is informed either of central objectives or of policy; no established set of materials is given to him to read. He may or may not spend time at the University College; if he does, he is, of course, greatly advantaged. He arrives in his territory after his predecessor has left, sometimes long after. If he is fortunate, some temporary person has carried on the program and can inform him of developments. Also he may find a few files to read. But essentially he must make his own way, simultaneously settling himself and his family in a new and strange community, establishing his own connections, picking up both continuing and dropped threads, and discovering the inevitable boundaries set by local opinions and patterns of life. Somehow, in the midst of everything else, he must also develop a program, represent the University College, and meet the special demands made upon him as one who is automatically one of the leaders of the community. The independent and creative person treats those demands as challenges, but it is not strange that some tutors falter and others fail.

■ The remedies for this situation, as for others, are obvious, though not all of them are possible. Among them are: the longer-range selections of the staff so that each appointment does not become a semi-emergency; at least a brief over-lapping of terms of appointment; a period of apprenticeship with an established tutor; a policy manual (preferably loose-leaf to care for changes); more effective filing and reporting systems; standardized appointment forms; and the preparation of a packet of basic materials to be read by all new staff members. At least some of these processes and devices are essential if the present difficult situation is to be remedied.

A Specialist in Adult Education. The Department would be greatly

aided if it had the services, on a full- or part-time basis, of a person whose graduate specialty was in the field of adult education.

At the present time, the staff of the Department is drawn from those who have established their qualifications in such various disciplines as law, political science, or literature. These people learn anything they may discover about the designing and the conducting of educational programs from the processes of observation, apprenticeship, and trial-and-error. Under the circumstances, they have had a remarkable success, in part because they have always had such capable and thoughtful leadership.

But the practical field of adult education itself has now developed to such an extent that it is being taught as a specialization at at least two universities in England, at least one in Canada, and at least thirteen in the United States. These programs provide courses in the aims, philosophy, and history of adult education; in the designing of educative experiences, from the refinement of objectives to the evaluation of results; in the principles of adult psychology; and in the social and cultural factors within which adult education operates most effectively. If at least one member of the staff of the Department had a doctorate in this field of specialization, he would be a valuable resource in advising and assisting his colleagues in the extra-mural program. He could provide leadership in training those who operate other adult educational services; he could carry out studies of needs and programs in this field; and he could provide liaison with like-minded people in other countries. He might himself be a resident tutor and, in this way, provide a modest comparison of the relative accomplishments of a specialist in adult education as contrasted with a subject-matter specialist. He might be a staff tutor, influencing the whole Department's work. He might have a joint appointment with the Institute of Education, carrying on some teaching on the campus itself.

Probably the best arrangement would be that in which a West Indian who already has experience could go away for training. But whether this plan or some other is followed, the Extra-Mural Department certainly should have at least one person on its staff who has been trained in the basic techniques it is using.

LEVEL AND TARGETS

"Level"

One of the most troublesome problems which besets those who provide university teaching for adults is the level of instruction which they should maintain. A university is a place for higher learning, and it cannot, without loss to its standards and prestige, undertake work which falls below a certain elevation or complexity. And yet there are very evident needs within the community which ought to be met and demands which cannot be denied. Moreover, a program which remains at a lofty level may not find sufficient popular support to be maintained. The university adult educator finds himself caught between two extremes and often between the two opposing fires of his campus colleagues and the community leaders who support his program.

The problem is difficult enough in England and the United States, where it is usually the major subject discussed by those interested in higher adult education. But the difficulty is far greater in such nations as the West Indies because there the institutions which do not need to restrict themselves to elevated subject matters are less highly developed. There are not the libraries, the evening schools, the agricultural extension and social services, and the myriad other agencies found in more sophisticated societies. And in proportion as the means to provide education are less available, the educational needs are all the greater. There is so much to be done that there is a constant temptation to throw oneself whole-heartedly into the service of all those who so clearly and so desperately need education.

But a society which is emerging into nationhood and is trying to develop quickly needs leaders more than it needs anyone else. It must have people who possess the advanced technical skills required to direct and guide economic life. It must have capable and effective administrators in both its public and its private institutions. And, most urgently of all, it must have a body of citizens who can understand, support, and advance the society, who can address themselves to constitutional questions, to policy matters, and to the expansion of those social services which will provide a better life for all of the people. In rapidly growing nations, it is usually the government which is the main instrument of advance; the officers of the government, whether political or administrative, need to know how to do their jobs better. But sound advancement also requires

an alert and articulate public opinion which is shaped and led by those who understand the issues and who provide both effective debate and the climate in which that debate can be carried on in the spirit of a free and democratic society. If a University College in an under-developed society does not serve members of this leadership group, they will not be served.

It is impossible to determine whether the level of teaching is acceptable without a clear-cut picture of what is aimed at. And here we see the ultimate fallacy of talking over-much about "standards" and "levels." Whose standards? What levels? The university, as an institution, has developed a certain body of subject-matter which it provides to the young under-graduate and graduate students who come to it to be inducted into maturity. But university teaching is not merely the imparting of advanced subject matter. It is the effort to help young men and women develop in complicated and advanced ways in terms of their individual capacities and under skilled guidance.

Centers of Emphasis

When one teaches adults, not young people, is it appropriate to apply exactly the same standards to their instruction? Perhaps so, if those adults are interested in achieving precisely the same results as those at which the young person aims—a bachelor's degree, say, or an advanced credential. But extra-mural work must also aim at meeting other kinds of needs, and it will be stultified if it must fit them within a framework which is not appropriate.

The part of wisdom would appear to be to try to define those central targets at which the program should aim and to ask what kind of education is appropriate in each case. Then, if practice goes wide of the mark, it will be possible to correct the aim. In the West Indian situation, the following centers of emphasis might well be chosen.

Provide continuing educational opportunities for the leaders and the potential leaders of society. In the West Indies, leadership is concentrated in relatively few hands, although the number of young men and women who are capable and trained for future leadership is growing rapidly. These people must not be left to feel that they have "had" their education, even though they possess the most distinguished certificates of accomplishment. The Extra-Mural Department should find ways of reaching them and

helping them to develop their potentialities. Let me make it clear that I mean everyone, including the Governor, the cabinet minister, the president of the union, the manager of the sugar estate, and those who will presumably inherit such posts in the years ahead. These people should not merely be reached or influenced politically; they should be helped to carry on their own self-education.

Assist and teach those who are trying to achieve external degrees or other forms of advanced certification. The West Indies, like other underdeveloped countries, has a large number of people who would like to pursue higher education abroad but do not have the means to do so. They are therefore taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the University of London and other institutions to pass the examinations which will provide them with some evidence of advanced standing. There is a feeling on the part of some of the Extra-Mural staff that these people do not deserve special assistance because they are studying only to achieve certification and not for the sake of learning itself. The majority opinion, however, seems to hold that the Department does have a special responsibility to aid these people, not, to be sure, by giving them special cramming and coaching, but by helping them to learn what they need to know in the educative environment of the classroom rather than by lonely study.

Train the leaders of the other educational and social services. As far as possible, the Extra-Mural Department should try to develop the educational services which are needed to support the society. It is not appropriate for a university to teach illiterates, to carry out simple community improvement projects, to maintain public libraries, to organize domestic science clubs for village women, or to operate voluntary associations, but it is certainly appropriate for a university to foster these and other services by providing training programs for those who can give either paid or voluntary leadership to them. The advantages will accrue essentially to the community, but the university will itself benefit as the growth of other programs removes some of the pressure for immediate, though inappropriate, assistance which it now feels.

Carry on experimental efforts. Sometimes a service is needed—but there is nobody else who is capable of carrying it on or who can be persuaded to accept responsibility for it. In such circumstances, a university is justified, after due deliberation, in providing sponsorship itself. It may, in the French Canadian pattern, help the people to develop co-

operatives, even though the necessary instruction is at a primitive level. It may work out a system of teaching illiterates which is more satisfactory than any now found, and, in the process, it will need to have classes for illiterates. The test here is the experimental frame of mind which shows itself to be eager to conclude the experiment or to hand the model program over to others to operate.

There are other central emphases which might guide the program of the Extra-Mural Department, but these will suffice to illustrate the point that levels or standards must always be viewed in terms of aims. The Department is not in the business of teaching undergraduates on the campus, and while it has much to learn from the faculties which are engaged in that business and must maintain a corporate unity with them, its work must be viewed as being essentially different. Those faculties will esteem the Department far more highly if it keeps its program firmly oriented around its own objectives than if it tries to be a carbon copy of what is happening on the campus.

Two Kinds of Leaders

While it is appropriate for the Department to develop all forms of advanced leadership in the West Indian society, I should like to make some special observations about two of them.

Labor leaders. In the West Indies, the leaders of labor appear to be interested in adult education to an extent unparalleled in my experience. This interest should be used to develop a much more complete program of workers' education.

In general, this program should probably be built up from the bottom rather than down from the top. The recent conference on workers' education was, from all accounts, a successful venture, and it is likely that other similar Caribbean-wide activities should be undertaken from time to time. But the major point of service must be in the particular territory. Neither the British nor the American patterns of labor education can be exported to the West Indies, but both of them have something to contribute. Perhaps in the laboratory of the Caribbean a new pattern will emerge which can serve as a model and a stimulus elsewhere.

Future political leaders. The extra-mural programs of England came into being essentially because university scholars felt that a large number of capable young men and women, particularly those who worked with their

hands, were not being given the opportunity to develop their capacity for responsible political leadership. Perhaps for this reason, it is characteristic of most extra-mural programs that their directors and staff should take pride in their capacity to find outstanding young people who have somehow missed their chance in childhood and to give them the education they need. The present cabinet ministers and permanent secretaries will pass from the scene. Will any of the new crop which will take their place be people whose capacities have been shaped, at least in part, by extra-mural study? This is the question which the staffs of extra-mural departments are encouraged, by their tradition, to ask.

It struck me as curious, therefore, that at no time during the seven weeks of my observation did this point emerge as a topic of discussion. Possibly the staff in the West Indies is so busy uncovering and developing latent talent that it finds no need to talk about the matter, unlike comparable staffs in England and Africa. Perhaps, on the other hand, the program has been so closely associated with the rise to power of the present group of leaders that it is tied to their particular fortunes. I shall not venture to ascribe a cause but merely note the fact itself and suggest that it might be a useful point for the staff to consider.

POTENTIAL AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT

As the Extra-Mural Department moves forward into an expanded program, its staff might well give consideration to the further development of three present forms of service and to the initiation of an additional one.

Formal Courses and Sequences

Although the opportunities for university education are increasing, the rate of advance is not as rapid as it is in the earlier schools. As a result, the number of secondary school graduates who cannot continue their education is increasing. Five out of six are now said to be denied further opportunities. Thus there is constantly being built up a number of people who are capable of further study of a sustained sort but who do not have the opportunity to undertake it.

The best solution for this problem is to increase, through scholarship aid and other means, the number of young people who can have university education. But such measures are expensive and can be provided for only a relatively small group.

A second-best, but still valuable, alternative is to take regular university education to the people. In effect, this is what the Extra-Mural Department is now doing when it provides courses designed to help people pass examinations and secure credentials. But at present this effort is largely unco-ordinated and unplanned, partly because some of the staff are none too sure that it is an appropriate service for the Extra-Mural Department.

In my opinion, the situation calls for a more vigorous effort. Why cannot the University College develop its own certificate programs, built around such useful areas of service as public administration, and provide sustained and sequential programs for those who wish to secure them? Why cannot it develop an evening college, like the University of London (Birkbeck College) or any of a hundred American universities, and in such a college provide all of the work required for a degree? Obviously opportunities of this sort cannot be provided everywhere, but beginnings could now be made in Kingston or in Port-of-Spain.

This proposal for the development of a more intensive formal program may seem to deny one of the essential elements of adult education, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake with no thought of awards or certificates. Actually, as pointed out earlier, an extra-mural department must be a multi-purpose agency. It is hard to see how class work can be ignored, particularly in an underdeveloped country where so much prestige is given to formal educational accomplishments. There may also be some hope that the growth of a formal program will aid the "purer" forms of adult education, by making possible more ample physical facilities, a larger staff, a greater concern with affairs of the mind, and a group of people who, having had more education, know the value of continued learning. Such desirable results do not come about automatically, however, and care must be taken that, along with the expansion of the formal program, ample provision is made for the freer forms by which lifelong learning is encouraged and facilitated.

Residential Adult Education

Residential adult education is already playing an important part in the work of the Extra-Mural Department but it should have an even more significant role than it does. It has demonstrated its value in country after country, though never in quite the same way. The Folk High School of Scandinavia is, perhaps, the great prototype, and it has been imitated,

always with significant differences, in many other countries. One of the most successful ventures is in Uganda where the Nsamizi Training Centre and other regionally dispersed supporting centers provide an essential service in the development of the country.

Residential adult education makes it possible for the adult to concentrate wholly on his studies removed from the distractions of his community. It provides a concentration and effective use of instructional talent. A residential course can draw together those with interests which are too specialized to be served in their home situations. Also morale factors are important; by the process of living and working together, people develop a common understanding and a sense of shared experience which cannot be achieved in any other way.

These values are important in the West Indies, and not the least significant of them is the opportunity which residential adult education would provide for helping build a greater sense of unity among the various territories. Also, in the Caribbean, this kind of education has prestige value. It is a sign of status to "do a course," and people with heavy responsibilities find it surprisingly easy to get away to undertake instruction.

At present the Department must plan its residential courses in the interstices of other programs, whenever physical facilities are free from their primary use as university hostels, hotels, or resorts. Such a transitory and opportunistic use does not permit the development of the best possible total program, though it is, of course, better than nothing. What is needed is a special residential center, designed especially for adult use, under the control of the Department, and with an outstanding director who can establish and administer a program and who has both the intellectual and the charismatic qualities needed in such a post. The work at the special center could then be the core of the Department's residential program; other facilities could be used as they are required.

Such a center will cost so much to establish and operate that it should be planned for most carefully. Ideally some new conception of residential education particularly suited to the West Indies should be evolved and given expression in appropriate physical facilities. Something can be learned from the Danish folk high school, the American center for continuing education, the British residential center, the Unesco center for fundamental education, Nsamizi, and other similar basic forms. But none of these can be borrowed intact; they must be adapted.

Correspondence Instruction

Correspondence instruction is almost ideally suited to the scattered population of the British West Indies and is a method which is now being widely used. My evidence for this fact comes chiefly from an observation by Mr. Kidd, "Surprisingly large numbers of teachers, civil servants and others are enrolled from time to time in these courses." He recommends that the Extra-Mural Department try to assist this work by inventorying the most popular courses, helping local teachers know how to coach students studying by correspondence, and setting up information centers. He also suggests that some special home study courses be developed by the Department "in such fields as industrial relations."

This latter recommendation goes either too far or not far enough. It is uneconomical to administer one or a few correspondence courses; the unit cost for each registration is likely to be very high. If the Department wishes to go beyond the useful regularization of existing efforts and actually provide courses, it ought to recognize from the beginning that it should contemplate a fairly large-scale undertaking. In doing so, it might bring a very useful service into the pattern of extra-mural work throughout the world. The British universities and the university colleges overseas do not yet offer correspondence instruction, though this work has been an established part of American academic life since 1892, and home-study departments are now maintained by a large number of universities, including some of those with the highest standards of academic excellence.

One other possibility would be for the University College of the West Indies to serve as the local recommending agent for one or more of the American universities, by screening available courses, selecting those which it feels have the greatest application to the West Indian scene, and informing all interested parties of the availability of these opportunities. Such a venture would encounter a number of objections, but I doubt whether they are compelling enough to keep the Extra-Mural staff from helping West Indians to use the excellent and relatively inexpensive courses which are now available. I am certain that the American universities would be happy to collaborate.

Publications

The state of publishing in the West Indies is primitive, and therefore the Extra-Mural Department has tried to step into the breach to remedy

at least some existing deficiencies. Its major effort has been to try to develop a literary movement, through the publication of plays and of such journals as The Caribbean Quarterly. To a small extent, it has also tried to advance adult education by publishing occasional papers and reports and making a start toward periodicals which would forward the movement. But it is generally agreed that the publishing efforts of the Department are inadequate and deteriorating, chiefly because publication is always a secondary activity for which nobody feels fully responsible.

The solution lies in the appointment of a publications officer who can put order and vigor into the publishing program. His work would fall into several overlapping categories of which the following would be important: (1) The continuance of an effort to build a literary movement in all of the ways now undertaken and such others as may be appropriate; (2) The development of textual material for the Extra-Mural Department, particularly in such areas as public administration, union organization, and business management, where the special requirements of the West Indies make it necessary to adapt the standard texts used in more highly developed countries; (3) The attempt to improve adult education by the publication of guides and manuals of methods and also by the sponsoring of a special journal; and (4) The editing of the Department's reports of its activities and the various forms of internal communication, such as the Director's Newsletter.

The Department has been a world pioneer in the imaginative use of radio, which, as the specialist in radio says, "is not for the sophisticate." The laudable efforts of the Department to reach and enlarge the capacities of its natural service group, the sophisticates, by publication should be intensified.

A MOVE TOWARD INTEGRATION OF EFFORTS

In every kind of society there must be many kinds of agencies to serve the diversified educational needs of adults. For the sake of economy and efficiency, these agencies need to work together, supplementing each others' efforts and preventing gaps and duplications of service. In an underdeveloped country it is particularly necessary that there be proper co-ordination, partly because of the scarcity of resources, and partly because of the need, as social services are developed, for each one to grow in the right way and not acquire the isolation shown by the large-

scale enterprises of more sophisticated societies.

But adult education requires not merely a coldly-engineered co-ordination but also the support of a movement based ultimately on idealism. The idea that society can be infinitely improved by the process of lifelong learning is one which can command the warmest and most enthusiastic support. It is limited in its intensity of feeling chiefly by the fact that it seldom has to struggle against active opposition, since almost everyone will grant the basic notion itself. Almost the only opponents of adult education are apathy and the competing claims of other social movements. But both of those opponents must be overcome, and it is for this reason that there is an effort in most countries to create some kind of a citizen movement which will give support to adult education and the institutions which provide it.

One of the most wholesome aspects of the Extra-Mural Department is the widespread desire of its staff to foster the co-ordination of adult education in the various territories. The needs of the society are so pressing that they cry out for the integration of efforts, and the genuine wish of the staff to find ways of working with others to prevent gaps and duplication is refreshing and welcome.

There are, in the main, two ways of building co-ordination among agencies which are separate in their control and administration. One is for the heads of the various institutions, or their designates, to sit down together to learn about each other's programs, to mark out areas of common interest, and to draw lines demarcating boundaries of service. This method has the disadvantage of being exceedingly long and tedious; when demands for service are pressing, it is hard to undertake deliberate and patient study. Also this method may strengthen institutional boundaries and build fences; when a jurisdiction has been agreed upon, it must forever after be protected. The other major method is for several institutions to agree upon a common, though necessarily limited, objective, and to try to achieve it together. This has the great advantage of showing tangible accomplishment, of advancing the program of each agency, of creating team spirit, and, finally and most important, of teaching the staff of each program something about the way other programs work.

It is because the Driftwood Conference held in Jamaica in August, 1959, came to the latter conclusion that it may well have significant consequences. (It received the name "Driftwood" from the sea-side bar-and-

grill in which, for want of a better place, the meetings were held; it was necessary to adjourn at six each day to permit the major business of the establishment to get under way.) At this conference were the representatives of the major adult educational agencies on the island. During two and a half days, after pursuing many a red herring and wandering down numerous bypaths, the group managed to develop a plan for the future which holds great promise. When a reunion of the group was held a week later, the enthusiasm of everyone was, if anything, heightened, not diminished.

The plan, in essence, is to carry on a unified campaign to educate the people of Jamaica about the British Caribbean. The month of February was chosen for this purpose. The Extra-Mural Department will develop a special four-session course to be taught in the major centers of population in Jamaica. The daily newspaper will devote a half-page a day and a full page on Sunday. The major radio service will reinforce and support the effort by providing a great deal of time each day, using news, drama, music, and other formats as they appear appropriate. The public library will develop exhibits, reading lists, and displays. The Institute of Jamaica will provide showings of art and history. The government film service will concentrate on the display of West Indian films. This list of activities is only partial, but it is illustrative of what may be accomplished.

What are the possible outcomes? (1) An outstanding educative experience for the people of Jamaica; (2) A model program which may be emulated in other territories; (3) An objective evaluation of that program, carried on by an independent committee which might reveal fresh insights into Jamaican adult education; (4) Greater knowledge on the part of the staff of each agency about how other agencies work; and (5) Similar collaboration on other projects in the future.

It is too early to say that these hopes will be realized, but they seem on the way to accomplishment. The idea of this kind of joint endeavor has been very well received elsewhere, and the resident tutor in Trinidad has put forward the interesting idea that the collaboration might take place around the expression to the public of the very idea of adult education itself.

The University College greatly lengthens its own shadow when it helps other institutions to develop full stature and when it becomes the prime

mover in the integration of efforts which have hitherto been diverse and scattered.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING INTERNAL OPERATIONS

A central theme of this report is the need for greater institutionalization of the Extra-Mural Department in order to discharge the larger responsibilities which it should assume. In this connection there are several additional points to be made which have to do with internal operations.

Long-Range Planning

One notable characteristic of the Extra-Mural staff is that it does not think very much, or at least talk very much, about long-range plans. The shortness of tenure of most resident tutors and an air of both tentativeness and urgency which lies heavy over the program, at least at this time, are probably the chief reasons why little thought is given to more than the immediate future. In so volatile a political and economic setting, it would obviously be unwise to establish rigid plans, but long-range objectives can be set to guide the immediate efforts of particular years. It is in underdeveloped countries that three- to ten-year plans are most widely used and most necessary. The Department will almost certainly not enlarge its scope unless it projects its goals for the long future.

Housing

One of the greatest needs of the Extra-Mural Department is adequate housing in each of the territories. Apparently the only facility which now approaches adequacy is that of British Honduras. Of necessity much of the work must be decentralized and take place in village halls, churches, schoolhouses, and the like. But the headquarters office of a territory, which is usually in the largest center of population, should be so situated as to command respect and attention and, more important, to provide a cultural focus for the community. In such a center, the various activities support and reinforce each other. The program of classes becomes tangible and visible, and continuity is encouraged.

The problem is one of cost, but an imaginative and flexible approach—different, perhaps, in each territory—might, in time, solve that problem. In particular, the money might come from wealthy local residents (either

West Indians or expatriates), who might, perhaps, like to have their names associated with such a center. Other possible sources are government grants, the creation of a group of guarantors, the use of the funds which the University College now pays for space, some supplementation of those funds, and foundation grants.

The University College would itself profit greatly from having a proper outpost in each territory which would make its work more visibly evident. The physical facilities on the campus are being built with an eye to permanence and to as much beauty and spaciousness as possible. The institution should be as attractively represented in brick and stone in the field as it is at home. The central administration of the College should do everything in its power to support the efforts of the resident tutor in each territory to find an outstanding home for the extra-mural work.

Public Understanding

The work of the Extra-Mural Department is so outstanding and unusual that it deserves to be more widely known and understood in the Caribbean area and elsewhere in the world. A relatively brief and clearly-written book should be prepared to tell its story.

Fortunately the basic materials for such a book lie ready at hand. Mr. J. R. Kidd, an extremely competent observer and skillful writer, has compiled a lengthy and sympathetic account of the program of the Department, complete with recommendations. But this report, as it now stands, is for the specialist and the person who wants a detailed and exact account. What is needed is a crisper and more integrated treatment which would be suitable for those who need merely an overview of the essentials of the program. Mr. Kidd himself or someone else working with his materials could provide the more popular treatment which is needed.

Valuable as this book would be elsewhere, it would have its best effect if it could be disseminated widely through the British Caribbean, fostering public awareness of the program. For, despite the widespread support given to the Department, there needs to be a great deal more understanding. Few people outside the staff really understand very well what the Extra-Mural program is all about. A cabinet minister may pay it a glowing tribute in public and announce the continuing support of his ministry, but when he is asked in private, later on, which aspect of the work he finds most significant, he is unable to answer. Then, too, the program is

often criticized for sins of both omission and commission of which it is not guilty. Obviously a book will not clear everything up tidily—but, if it were well done, it would help.

Extra-Mural Examiner

External examiners are now appointed by the University of London to supervise and assist instruction offered at the University College of the West Indies. At the present time these examiners have a final authority which springs from the fact that the degrees awarded are those of the University of London. It is possible, however, that, even after full University status is achieved, the system of external examiners will be maintained for a time, although they will then be chosen from any outside institution, and their work will be advisory to the new University.

Since the work of the Extra-Mural Department has always stood outside the usual framework of instructional activities for which examiners are essential, it has never had the opportunity to avail itself of systematic outside evaluation and assistance. While it should be granted at once that, in the absence of established standards and with the need for adaptation to regional requirements, no set measures of accomplishment can be laid down for extra-mural work, it would still be very useful to have periodic and independent outside examination of the work. The external examiner might, indeed, be the first of the new breed of examiners, those whose work is purely advisory and facilitative. He should be appointed by the Principal, Senate, or Council—whichever is appropriate—and his report should be made widely available to all concerned.

Consultants

If the Extra-Mural Department is to embark on a program of expansion which will permit it to come somewhat closer to meeting the needs of the region, it will need to use special and continuing consultants. At present a number of people pass through the Caribbean on their own missions and at their own convenience. The Department can sometimes make opportunistic use of them. On special occasions, it can also secure special funds to permit the travel of someone it needs or arrange a conference which brings him to the West Indies. These special arrangements should certainly be continued. It would also be very useful if the Department could have some free funds to use to invite the people it needs at the time it needs them.

CONCLUSION

In the United States, we say that "the good is the enemy of the best." The satisfaction which comes from carrying out a strong program of service may blind its sponsors to the need for adding strength to strength, accepting the larger responsibilities which the future always brings to those who are ready and willing to take them on. The need for the services of the Extra-Mural Department is very great in the Caribbean, and it has a significant role to play in setting an example for the rest of the world. This report has tried, as forcefully and as candidly as possible, to suggest how both the local and the international load can be carried better.

Education is essentially a process for developing the individual, but, particularly in such places as the West Indies, its social responsibilities are very great. James Madison once commented that "Popular government without popular education is a prologue to a farce or a tragedy." Perhaps, in his own time, he may have been right. Today, popular government without popular education leads only to tragedy.

EPILOGUE

Guidance to a new nation and "an example to the world." This, says Houle, is the task of the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the West Indies. And he has cogent proposals about how such a bold enterprise should be faced.

It's a candid report. The author has summarized most of the difficulties and problems. These are formidable enough. However, they have a somewhat different complexion to one who has witnessed the obstacles that have been overcome already. West Indians are not often daunted by difficulties, because they can all look back to a decade of astonishing progress.

The Department, to be true to its mission, the author thinks, must be "multi-purpose." He advocates an abiding concern for quality but perceives that arbitrary standards "made in London" or "made in Chicago" have no relevance, that any standards must be applied in the light of the aims of the Department. This is an important judgment; some visitors carry their own patented tape measure wherever they travel.

Houle traces very clearly the origins of the Department in British adult education. Other observers have noted this, but put equal or greater stress upon how West Indian, not how British, is the Department. It is fascinating, for example, to note the differences that are already apparent in the work of this Department as contrasted with extra-mural departments which began in the same year in African and Asian colleges.

The author has written impressively about the emergence, indeed the harnessing, of the potent force of nationalism in West Indian adult education. The tide of nationalism thrusts onto every shore in the Caribbean. Few influences are so energizing, or can be more devastating. The days in which men are rigorously tested last far beyond a struggle for self-government. Perhaps the hardest part comes when comrades who had stood together braced against some outside force must turn and work together. West Indians have not escaped the searing economic and political divisions faced by any developing country. Evidence of doubt and disunity

can be found. Some voices are plaintive; some are shrill; some are accusing; some are hysterical. On a steaming August city pavement men may speak of disillusion, of betrayal, of doubt, of cynicism. But there are other times and other voices. These are exciting days for a West Indian, who is finding himself, and finding a new nation. Many of them have turned to poetry to express these bewildering new feelings, and many of them echo the words of a Barbadian barrister,

You who may come a hundred years
After our troubled bones are dust . . .
Turn these pages in that hour,
Read what we won and where we failed . . .
And bar the word with wisdom fit,
And build, O build, where we but dream;
Expose, undo, repair, extend,
As you, O master, best may deem
But whatso'er of ours you keep
Whatever fades or disappears,
Above all else, we send you this
The flaming faith of these first years.

It is to be expected that the faith will flicker at times, but it gives off a warmth and a light that affects all the concerns of the Extra-Mural Department.

Houle also speaks feelingly of the excellent staff of the Department, headed by one of the people in the world who may appropriately be termed an educational statesman, Philip Sherlock. He pleads for additional resources for them, and for administrative arrangements that will give deeper impact to their efforts.

It's an admirable report. What is lacking?

Only that, perhaps, which one cannot rightfully expect from an educational report. How can such a report, no matter how competent, be expected to give a clear impression of what it is like to be alive in the first days of any new country. In the Caribbean, its 1783; its 1867. Nor can you do justice to the country or its people in the black-and-white of a report; it ought to be projected in technicolor. Once, speaking to a tense, mixed audience in Africa, Philip Sherlock remarked, "West Indians come in every colour except blue!" For a moment laughter dissolved some of the deep anxieties of his audience. But the reference is as apt as it is amusing. This is not only a new nation, it is a land where people of all races have begun their national life on a basis of color equality. It is a land where they are speaking of sober, everyday accomplishments when they

employ such phrases as the "creative use of differences."

Will it work out?

Who knows? The West Indian peasant, workman, teacher, or civil servant has often known hardship. E. H. Roach has written of his sturdy qualities.

His life was unadorned as bread,
He reckoned weathers in his head
And wore their ages on his face
And felt their keenness to his bone
The sting of sun and whip of rain.
He read day's event from the dawn
And saw the quality of morning
Through the sunset mask of evening.

But he is facing more than hardship now; he lives in a world of scientific and technological revolution, and, ready or not, he has taken over responsibility for his own government. The way ahead is perilous enough, and yet, perhaps the poet can see as clearly as any of us.

Oh Sons, O strong ones from their loins,
Boldly inherit the good earth
Though you keep their homespun traces
Or run in splendid gilded races.
O poets, painters, tinkers turn
Again and take new craft from old
Worth and wisdom however cold.
O cornerstones of the crazed world,
O nourishers of earth's best blood
Reclaim the weary dying good.

As Houle remarked, this may indeed be an example for the world.

Those who know Houle will not be surprised that his thoughtful observations about the Caribbean islands are fully illuminated by references to developments in America, Europe, and Africa. No American adult educationist knows Britain as well as Houle; few know Canada as well; and fewer still have had his opportunity to travel through English-speaking territories in Africa.

His report is not only an account of an adult education program of a university college serving three million people in a few scattered territories. It is also an important statement about a kind of development which, more than atomic power, may serve to give a name and a meaning to our times. This is a movement that still lacks an articulated philosophy of generally accepted techniques. But it has a credo, and its devotees are beginning to know each other and beginning to articulate their intentions

and give shape to a common approach.

I refer, of course, to the men and women who journey from their own land on various missions of technical assistance: go to offer food, or health, or industrial techniques, or education to their brothers in other lands, go to repay debts owed to other peoples or to sacrifice a little for crimes committed against humankind. They carry no common symbol, but for most of them the job is the same, a deeply subtle task of helping other men help themselves—to become "masters of their own destiny."

So far, this missionary enterprise lacks a literature, although it has found an eloquent voice in Barbara Ward Jackson to express the depths of its faith. Few of its achievements have been recorded, but a West Indian, Arthur Lewis, has laid down some of its first principles, and there is now in existence a Society of International Development with headquarters in Washington.

Perchance this new mission may yet help to save much of the world from man's ingenious devices of destruction. There is no certainty that our fate will be glorious or even protracted, but the chance does exist. One essential condition is that we are able to obtain understanding and good works as well as faith. We need every scrap of careful observation and common sense we can find about this new phenomenon by which men are sharing their best with their fellows.

Consensus is still lacking on many aspects of international development. This is scarcely surprising. For at the center of the process is a puzzle. How can a man of one faith help one of another faith? How can a man of one culture guide one of another culture? What does it mean that men and women shall learn to help themselves? How can the achievement of one people be transmitted to another people?

This is no easy task. The crops, the flowers and the trees of some developing countries—the West Indies, for example—were transplanted from somewhere else. But the same cannot always be done with man's institutions. Some have taken root in alien soil. No matter what may be our feelings about "colonialism," one can observe invaluable social gains in India, Ceylon, and Nigeria, gains associated with the transplanting of some British customs, or some institutions. But not all institutions will flourish away from home. The motives by which these institutions were carried abroad were mixed, just like most motives. With some, good in-

tentions have carried a long way. An official in the Jamaican government once told me: "Our entire secondary school system is modelled after the British. Of course it is irrelevant to our present needs, but the British did not know this. They simply gave us the best they had. They did this with affection, and we have affection for them because of their gift. But of course we will have to change it!"

While there is no consensus, many believe that the social customs and institutions most likely to prosper are those that are deeply rooted, are part of an indigenous culture. The task of the visitor, they claim, is not so much to bring a new institution as it is to encourage and nourish the home developments and those imports that seem best suited to local conditions. Of course there is a danger that such a policy can result in a kind of sickly sentimentalism, of lavishing praise on any activity that is homespun. But the acceptance of an approach based on indigenous culture need not be lacking in quality or intellectual rigour.

It is easy enough to decry some of the measures of earlier colonizing powers, actions which seemed to be inspired by dreams of empire or wealth. But are present temptations any less beguiling? Are we to scrutinize our own hearts and actions the less when, instead of acting in the name of trade or imperialism or some sect, our actions are sanctioned by science or inspired by the efforts to defeat Communism?

The risks, like the opportunities, are substantial. It is for this reason that we need to examine the process of international development, and to appraise actions and results. For these are not peripheral interests simply because the scene is laid outside our continent and the dramatis personae may be of a different color or tongue. These matters are central in our present and for our future.

May, 1960

J. Roby Kidd, Director
Canadian Association for Adult Education

(Continued from inside front cover)

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NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS **33**

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR
ADULTS

4819 S. Greenwood Ave.
Chicago 15, Illinois

**PEOPLE, PROGRAMS, AND
PERSUASION:**

**SOME REMARKS ABOUT PROMOTING
UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION**

MILTON R. STERN

Assistant Dean

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New York University

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

THE CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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PREFACE

"2,500 By Day and 5,000 By Night"

Time: July, 1959

Reporter: Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, in Russia with Vice-President Nixon's party

Scene: Leningrad—the Admiralty Shipyard, in a crowd of workers gathered around a new atomic-powered ice-breaker

" . . . The girl and her friend were interested in the visitors. They knew that Dr. Milton Eisenhower was along and that he was a university president.

"I pointed him out. Then I brought the girl and the young man forward and introduced them. A great crush of workers crowded around. The girl asked him how many students he had. He told them 2,500 by day and 5,000 by night."

Unintentionally in this little episode, the president of Johns Hopkins was acknowledging the importance of university-level continuing adult education and of its organizational units, the evening college and the extension division. His enumeration, "2,500 by day and 5,000 by night," points up the change that has already overtaken higher education in this generation of rapid urbanization which is still in process. The change is not yet fully understood either in the general population or among our academic peers. A continuing school for adults differs from every other enterprise of a university both as to its students and its programs of study. If in many institutions this is not recognized, it is because we of the evening colleges have not ourselves as yet dealt fully with the implications of what has happened.

University level adult education requires unique expression. The nature and quality of our work must be made clear in a vocabulary of

its own, not one borrowed from other parts of the university or, for that matter, from Madison Avenue. We need our own idiom to express the ideas and the original, fresh programs of extension. More than anything else, we need a new way of looking at our task. An original conception of our work must become second nature to us if we are to exert an influence in the next generation of university life commensurate with the importance of what we do.*

In that new outlook, "promotion" is important—indeed, indispensable. To do it well, we must not be blocked by the negative attitude about promotion: that somehow or other it represents a tempting but tainted commercialism. Promotion is both a legitimate and a native part of our enterprise. On the other hand, of course—and the warning is ignored at one's peril—we must not be so overcome with naive admiration of glib "mass-communicators" that we uncritically apply commercial tactics and language that do not properly represent our own educational purposes.

These "connected remarks" offer to deans, directors, and extension staffs a broad, occasionally unorthodox, view of promotion as a function involving all of them. There are practical suggestions for everyone, particularly for the person on the staff with the major promotion assignment. This may be anyone from the dean to the last man hired—or perhaps nobody has been given the responsibility. The discussion may help make clear that such a definite assignment is desirable. Most of all the following pages seek to show how to supplement the creative programming impulse which is already the happy possession of people who conceive university adult education to be a worthwhile life's work.

The writer believes that what might be called a symbiotic relation should exist in our minds between program and promotion. In the first part of these "remarks," attention will be given to practical matters, homely details of how to fill classrooms with adult students. In the second part, the focus will be upon internal relations, that is, how deans and staffs see themselves and how they are seen from the faculty club and the president's office.

* This is as good a place as any to say that the use of the words "we" and "our" in this essay is not vaguely editorial; they are used consistently and precisely to include only the administrative cadre of the extension division and evening college.

The first topic will be the nature of the audience, from the point of view of promoting enrollment. Consideration will then be given to how promotion grows naturally out of programming, after which suggestions will be made about advertising, publicity, "research," list-building, balanced mail promotion, and so on, including some observations about cultivating promotional imagination. Some specifics will not be covered: "how to write a release," or "how to conduct a press conference," or "when to use offset instead of letterpress." These are problems which are often handled in the classrooms of the evening college itself. We can always take a course! More than that, much information of a technical nature is quickly and readily available in books, and an appendix to this essay offers a recommended reading list.

As to the matter of internal relations, the promotion man must be concerned about what university faculty people think of the extension division and about the division's own self-image. A good deal of our promotional effort may have to go into improving our domestic situation inside the university. Hence the second part of this essay explores the atmosphere in which we do our work. It concludes, rashly enough, with some suggestions on how to improve that climate of opinion.

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Part One

PROMOTION

What the Audience Is Like

Opinions about people, their capacity to learn, their living ways, are easily enough come by. Clip one from the newspaper:

"The average guy never notices life at all." (John Crosby in the New York Herald-Tribune.)

Or consult the social scientists as they disagree. According to Harry Miller of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, "... adults take fewer risks" (than children); but according to Howard Y. McClusky of the University of Michigan, "In spite of popular thinking, recent investigators have failed to find a positive correlation between conservatism and aging, which indicates that it would be a serious mistake to accept the conservative stereotype in dealing with adults in the middle and later years."

Yet Mr. McClusky has a reservation: "... even more than the child, the adult is culture-bound. He tends to see himself as his culture sees him." Still, "For the great majority of people, responsible and societally significant performance INCREASES well into the middle years, and for a substantial number expands into the later years of life."¹

Or consult a novelist and find an attitude (typical? average? limited to a few?) about evening colleges important to take into account in the promotional effort. Here is Wilder Stone, in his late twenties, average American, hero of John Leggett's well-received novel of the same name published early in 1960, as he meets his wife-to-be for the first time in the Barnard College (Columbia University) campus newspaper office:

"I'm in the real estate business."

1. Howard Y. McClusky and Gale Jensen, "The Psychology of Adults," Review of Educational Research, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, June, 1959.

She smiled. "But here. Do you real-estate around here?"

"I just take a course here. In General Studies."

"What course?"

"A business course."

"I thought it might be embalming."

"What?"

"You're so touchy about it."

These are almost random selections from reading, casual or professional. One could go on with many interesting quotations from long ago or from yesterday. Yet we would be unlikely to find a consensus; even the same commentators are not in agreement with themselves from day to day. Conservative . . . adventurous . . . limited . . . expansive. Such contradictory words and many more will accurately describe the human beings who are our mature adult students. "Know our audience?"

"Yes, but caution."

On the other hand, as we consider them for promotional purposes, we must guard against the temptation to simplify our problem by conceiving of our students as one of a series of "publics" of the evening college or by thinking of them as "consumers" of education.

The Evening College Has Private Relations

The concept of "publics," essentially an attempt at classification for purposes of impersonal manipulation of mass, usually distant, audiences, is misleading for us. The business corporation may find it useful to label as "publics" its employees, stockholders, distributors, and finally consumers. To the last group, the corporation, reaching it as much as possible through mass communication, "personalizes" itself (the friendly, reliable, venerable, kindly). But that approach is meaningless for the evening college which, to begin with, operates in a local, personal framework. Our relations with students are face-to-face.

The "personality" of the corporation is a fiction, growing perhaps from the 14th Amendment, but a fiction nevertheless. It persists largely because reality rarely intrudes upon the projector of the image; the people are far, far away. But ours are relationships in which the image

grows out of everyday communication between human beings—teachers, students, administrators, prospective students. To be successful, our messages must represent our programs accurately, no matter how well our audience gets to know us. In a far sharper way than sponsored television shows represent a large corporation, our advertisements, our promotions of all kinds, speak for the evening college.

Even more than its employees represent the corporation, we are the evening college. Our purpose in promotion is not to sell goods and say goodbye, but to bring people into a close and continuing relationship with our classes and with an activity—learning—which must be largely self-directed. However rewarding, it is hard work for students. We cannot afford to waste time on irrelevancies because we have a much more difficult job of promotion than does the commercial world. We must give more to our students because we ask so much of the people who respond to our message.

For all that, there is no reason to be hostile or indifferent to the commercial culture of which we are a part; after all, from time immemorial mercantile cultures have carried civilization, and we can learn a great deal about promoting enrollments from the field of commerce, if we do not swallow the lesson whole. University adult education is not promotable in the same context as cigarettes, automobiles or pressure cookers. But it must be promoted—in its own terms.

In that effort, commercial publicists can teach us most importantly to think about our audience rather than wastefully about ourselves. This point means more than just another stand-off debate on "Should we give them what they need or what they want?" Whatever the judgment on that rather outmoded question, the promotional issue is how to talk to our potential students so that they listen.

Shall we talk as if we were possessors of the word, and they are darned lucky that we are around and gracious enough to give them an education? Oddly enough, the temptation to take that position is supported by the fact that some adults do respond that way—not a majority, but some. On the other hand, should we go all out, jump up on their shoulders like affectionate St. Bernards and moistly lick their faces? Some business firms in the multi-billion rank do so. These days even banks slobber a bit as they invite us to their vaults, and that is certainly a vast change from a generation ago. Neither of these alternatives will

serve us, although dignity and friendliness are both important and compatible.

The general tone of our promotion both in attitudes and activities (events, mail promotion, advertising) can best grow out of a clear-eyed look at our own schools and students. There is enough similarity among them for a few useful generalizations to be extracted and used in conjunction with local information.

In the first place, we know that our students and our desired audience must be looked at as individuals. Not only do they want different courses of study for widely differing reasons, but they come to us from many levels of educational background and emotional maturity. In our promotion, therefore, the appeal must vary—with the added complication that others (not only potential students but critical faculty) are looking over our shoulder as we talk or write or teach.

The University's Public Image

Fortunately, we benefit from the general response to the idea of a university. It is almost a stereotypical view that a university is the best place to go to learn. Non-school-going adults are apt to have a respectful contempt for the university teacher—contempt on the basis of low income, respect out of the undifferentiated prestige shared by universities today. In great part, of course, the individual response grows from class background, mobility, business success, previous experience and so on. A cheerful consideration, however, is that the professor and not the football team has come to occupy a central place in the response to the word, "university."

The broad audience views the professor—not always accurately—as a cultivated man, a man of breadth of knowledge, whether his field is management, chemistry or literature. Extension divisions and evening colleges have, in fact, contributed a good deal to this view held by the public. The catalogs of evening colleges, circulating extensively; their varied programs, publicized widely, convey a sense of this richness. To some extent, our colleagues in other schools do not realize this particular result of our work, by them labeled "public relations" with scorn or resignation. They do not know how much a favorable climate for them has been created as a result of the real relations with students in extension classes.

Promotionally, the classroom relations of teachers and students are important, but the focus of attention must be on prospective students—people functioning in society, waiting for the magnet of our appeal (and doing many other things while they wait). In the classroom the multitude of motives that impel adults to return to school are all gathered into one practical consideration for the teacher: the students are there and can be taught the subject matter.

But what brought them to class?

Evening college administrators are familiar enough with the reasons. Once we say that people come to us to improve themselves personally, vocationally and culturally through continuing education, we have said it completely, except that we should footnote the underlying theme of active individual search for increased personal power that moves our students. Elaborations and refined classifications of these student goals will not help us much. Of course, we must be aware of goals and needs which seem most to influence our own local groups of students. Sensitivity to these points is an obvious part of the administrator's professional life. But there are also transcending generalizations about potential students which are important in promotion.

Mistakes in Promotional Attitude

There are two extremes of error in the attitudes of administrators toward students and toward resulting promotion. One extreme is to ignore students and merely follow slavishly in the dull, sometimes stupefyingly dull, "bulletin" pattern of the parent institution. But even if the university's catalogs have a degree of vitality, the evening college must break out of that mold. It needs a different face because it appeals, or should, to adults.

The other extreme of promotional attitude is sharply differentiated from the dull grey catalog approach. Yet it is just as slavish and imitative—this time of a presumed Madison Avenue canon. In this latter dispensation, the evening college gears its promotion toward allegedly popular or mass consumption patterns.

Both extremes ignore the basic reality of the job.

Fundamental promotional thinking must be about our students' lives, with particular reference to local circumstance. It is only possible to

program and promote after we have seen whom we are trying to reach and teach. Such thinking means cultivating awareness of people rather than learning techniques of applied sociology. Practically this means that an extension administrator must cultivate professional and technical groups and develop an imaginative response to his segmented broad audience. For example, several schools in the early '50's followed with courses in Italian the development a half-decade earlier of growth of interest in Italy and things Italian—fashions, movies, tourism. And again in languages, we can see in 1961 growth of interest in Japanese, preceded by some few years by a surge of cultural interest. These are guesses, of course, and we may be wrong in our estimates. But sometimes we may be overwhelmingly right, as, for instance, the University of California was in its program of Space Technology two years ago, when the program was planned "big" and developed to many times its early enrollment expectation, with 4,643 registrants all over the state. (See Exhibit A.)

To be in tune with the audience is an acquired skill—but it is cultivatable. This sense of timing and timeliness grows out of extra-professional involvements as much as out of reading the last word from David Riesman. We are misguided if we follow ephemeral technical enthusiasms of specialists. Intuition and flair about the general social milieu are more important than constructing hypotheses about "opinion-makers" or "community power figures." This is sociological jargon and good clean fun, but it doesn't get many students into classrooms. To do that, we had better ask ourselves more sensibly, "How has modern society conditioned our audience to receive our messages?"

It has already been noted that orthodox methods of mass communication are, by and large, not for us; it is also true that the ubiquitous mass media techniques have conditioned our audience to receive all messages as "selling" messages without differentiating among them. But the educational experience is not a buying one and hence cannot be promoted in the same way.

We cannot usefully think of our audience in terms of undifferentiated consumers. True, they are all human beings, and the great majority of them are Americans. But merchandisers themselves do not pretend to complete knowledge about the market, and when their confidence does become excessive, it is likely to be betrayed by events, as witness the demand for small cars which caught complacent Detroit manufacturers un-

prepared. If, when we explore our allegedly mass market, it breaks up into components of idiosyncratic individuals, how much more than automobile makers should we cultivate awareness of individuals? This rhetorical question requires some specific "how's" to make it come alive. In effect, we should deal with people personally in all the routines of enrollment. We should be lavish in personal letters to students. We should encourage instructors to give students individual attention. We should encourage real and not merely cursory counseling. (See page 56 for a further discussion of this area.) In list building, we may very well pay attention to small groups when we have specific courses to promote to limited audiences. (Exhibit B offers an example of this sort of promotion, relatively inexpensive in money but demanding attention and energy from administrator and promotion man.) Our promotion and programs can never be put on an assembly line.

A basic danger, that of giving people an impression that their money is all they need to expend for education, requires spelling out all the time. The payment of money at the time of enrollment does not give the student the equivalent of a car to drive away, a movie to enjoy, a steak to eat. Yet the impact and effect of commercial advertising today is to provide such an expectation. With whatever differences of appeal, the overarching note struck in modern sales messages furthers an unremitting hedonism. In continuing education, however, even deferred pleasure must depend upon a great deal of effort by the enrolled student. The "joy of learning" is real and possible. But the majority of our potential students are quite out of touch with what it means and must be given some clues, even—perhaps especially—before they get to class. In counseling sessions, for example, this means conveying accurate notions of how much home study and home assignment are involved in a given course. Another practical implication is that great care is required in the execution of all course descriptions. Some non-credit courses are particularly vulnerable to descriptions in evasively lyrical language. This glamour may hide poor planning or a tired old hack course, or, what is worse, a great deal of hard work which comes later as an unpleasant surprise to students. The peculiarly rich satisfactions of education must be the touchstone of our promotion. Thus a recent introduction to the semester catalog of New York University's Division of General Education was headed, "University Courses Open to the General Public—Where Work and Leisure Meet."

SCIENTIFIC USES OF SPACE VEHICLES — THE IGY EFFORT

History of the overall IGY activity, total array of nations and experiments involved. Origin of the satellite project, and technical problems to be overcome in securing a successful launching. Present status of the development of the Vanguard vehicle, and specifications thereof. Nature of the communication network, and procedures in transmitting and processing data. Prospects for the immediate future.



JOSEPH KAPLAN

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B.Sc., Johns Hopkins, 1924; Ph.D.,
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Air Force and later Air Weather Service, 1943-45. Member,
Air Force Scientific Advisory Board since 1947. Member of
numerous national committees relating to geophysics, geodesy,
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University of Notre Dame and Carleton College. His most
recent responsibility has been the chairmanship of the U.S.
National Committee for the IGY.

SCIENTIFIC USES OF SPACE VEHICLES — THE SATELLITE EXPERIMENTS

The array of possible satellite experiments, their significance
and priority. Design of instrumentation, including telemetering
techniques. Results of tests to date. Possible future experi-
ments with lunar or other vehicles. What could be done with
a larger payload.



JAMES A. VAN ALLEN

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B.S., Iowa Wesleyan, 1935; Ph.D.,
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rockets to upper air measurements. Chairman of the IGY
Committee on Scientific Uses of Earth Satellites. Editor of
"Scientific Uses of Earth Satellites" (University of Michigan
Press).

LOS ANGELES: April 21
SAN DIEGO: April 22
SAN FRANCISCO: April 23

Exhibit A

The first simple cover in black and green enclosed a twenty-page booklet in the University of California's typical format. The text described details of a 1958 statewide lecture series in space technology intended for engineers, physicists, etc. The net result in enrollment at \$35.00 per registration was five sections in Southern California and one in Berkeley with a total of 4,643 people. Kinescopes of the lectures were distributed to 65 subscribers in the United States and Canada. Subscribers were universities, industry and the military. Dr. Elwin Svenson (Associate Director, University Extension, UCLA) estimates that some 1,000 more engineers and scientists viewed the kinescopes.

If the program had not been planned with lecturers of great authority and distinction and if the promotional follow-through to the many interested industries in California had not been complete and

V Space and Competitive Private Enterprise May 4

A distinguishing feature of our successful economic system, as opposed to communist and other statist systems, is the use of competitive private enterprise as the primary means of economic development. In the past three decades, however, the U.S. government has adopted a much more aggressive role in economic life, and under the pressures of national defense, has assumed substantial control over the most advanced technologies of our time. This major shift in the nation's economic and political life has chilling implications for the future. The exploration of space, a vast and expensive undertaking, poses fundamental questions: How can private enterprise and private capital make their maximum contribution? What projects will necessarily require government chairmanship and support for their execution? The lecturer will discuss what must be done to preserve a free society while competing in an international race for space.

Ralph J. Cordiner

Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company



Ralph Cordiner is an articulate spokesman for modern business. A native of Walla Walla, Washington, with a B.A. from Whitman College, he has spent practically all of his business career with General Electric. Since he became the Company's chief executive officer in 1970, General Electric has expanded rapidly, becoming a leader in such space-oriented technologies as electronics, flight propulsion, high-temperature materials, and power supply. Mr. Cordiner was Vice Chairman of the War Production Board in World War II, and chairman of the "Cordiner Committee" on military manpower. He is author of "New Frontiers for Professional Managers," and was selected this year by the *Saturday Review* as "Businessman of the Year."

VI Atomic Energy and Space May 11

There is a considerable relationship between the progress of atomic energy and the space program. There is great scientific interest and eventually important applications for the benefit of mankind in large-scale energy-release phenomena. Distant space, or the back of the moon, or the surfaces of the planets Venus and Mars can provide us possibly with new areas for carrying out experiments which will advance knowledge of such high-energy phenomena, and which may lead to beneficial effects in many applications on the earth's surface when the phenomena is well understood. Less spectacular but perhaps more assured applications of atomic energy lie in rocket propulsion and in supplying power to satellites in orbit. These possibilities and others are discussed in this lecture.

Willard F. Libby

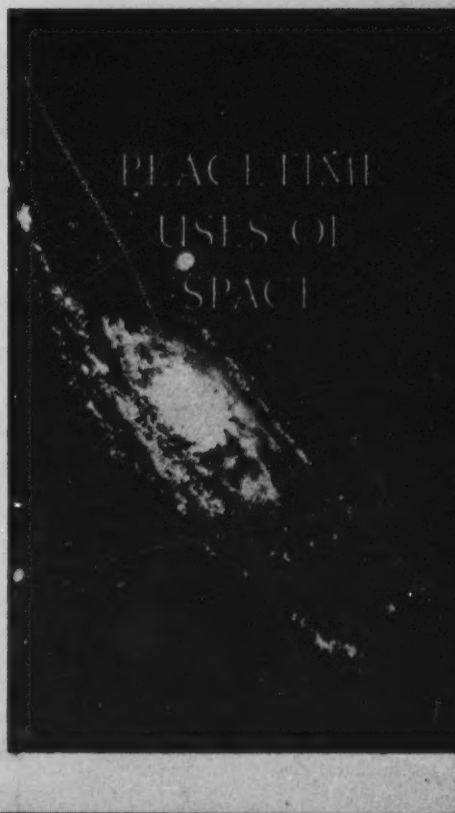
Professor of Chemistry, University of California, Los Angeles



Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1933. Instructor to Associate Professor, Department of Chemistry, University of California, Berkeley, 1933-43; in 1941 was awarded Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship; worked in Manhattan District project at Columbia University, 1941-45; Professor of Chemistry, Institute for Nuclear Studies (now Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies), University of Chicago, 1945-1954; appointed by President Eisenhower as a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1954-59; Professor of Chemistry, University of California, Los Angeles, June, 1959 to present. Known for his work on natural carbon-14 (radiocarbon) and its application to dating of ancient archaeological artifacts, and natural tritium, and received the Research Corporation Award for 1951 for the radiocarbon dating technique. Has received numerous awards in Chemistry; Member of American Chemical Society, and other professional societies. Member of National Academy of Sciences. Honors: D.Sc., Wesleyan University, 1955; Syracuse University, 1957; Trinity College of University of Dublin, 1977; Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1979.

Photo: Peter Sauter, May 78.

documented with much information about the lecturers, it is fairly clear that the enrollment would have been much less. Indeed the lecture series would have been irrelevant. The series was, however, fruitful of related popular lectures too. In spring, 1960, a series at UCLA on "Peacetime Uses of Space" attracted an audience of from 750 to 1200 men and women for each lecture. The descriptive folder again featured a group of distinguished lecturers. In describing space courses, perhaps the best way to offer concrete references for a reader is to show him the people whom he will hear in the lecture hall and describe their qualifications.





NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND EXTENSION SERVICES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Telephone SPring 7-2000

Do publishers have more leisure now in December than they will have after Christmas? That's what I am told. For that reason and because December is sales conference time, I am writing this early advance letter about a course in Book Sales, Promotion and Advertising that won't begin until February 1959. You may want to refer the information to some likely and energetic person in your organization. Registration may be made by mailing the enclosed enrollment envelope with company or personal check. The instructor will be LILLIAN FRIEDMAN, bookbuyer for Brentano's, who needs little introduction to people in publishing.

Monday evenings, 6:15-8 p.m., February 2-May 25 (15 sessions)
Fee, \$40.00 plus \$5.00 registration fee - TOTAL: \$45.00.

Course content includes: Organization of a sales department; operation of a book advertising agency; advertising copy and layout; promotion techniques; operation of a bookstore, the ultimate market place; handling of subsidiary rights; new developments in distribution.

Full details of this course and many others in publishing and graphic arts are contained in the descriptive brochure of the Center for Graphic Industries and Publishing which will be mailed soon after the New Year. Please write or telephone (SPring 7-2000 ext. 789) for further details.

Sincerely yours,

Milton R. Stern
Assistant to the Dean

Exhibit B

This letter, personally addressed and individually signed (but mechanically typed) was sent just before Christmas last year to some ninety publishing executives to promote a course beginning two months later. Whereas in the previous year only six registrations had resulted for a quite orthodox and considerably more expensive brochure promotion to a list more than ten times as large, this letter resulted in 20 enrollments. Cost: Under \$30.00.

While the general promotion of the evening college can accurately describe the pleasures of the mind, it must not minimize the work or time necessary to achieve them. As many people would enroll, and drop-outs would be far fewer, if the rigorous as well as the savory parts of the educational experience were implicit in our appeals. To what extent is the discouraged student who does not reappear after the first few sessions a casualty of blue-sky promotion? The statistics of complaint are lost in shabbily kept office records and in our concentration on so many other matters. But we could build in protection for the students, and for our consciences.

Students have little opportunity to consult the Better Business Bureau. The reputation of universities is such that dropouts usually go away with a sense of failure; it must, they think, have been their fault. Of course, their conditioning in our consuming economy of instant commodities has misled them. But we must also accept the responsibility of dealing with them clearly by describing ahead of time our own old-fashioned method.

People Can't "Consume" Education

Continuing education is an experience not paralleled in their co-existing experience as consumers. The sociologists have been taken too literally when they meant only a figure of speech in speaking of the "consumption" of education. The figure is sound, indeed brilliant, as it indicates how people regard life in general in a society seemingly based upon the consumption of goods as a primary way of life. But colorful and useful though the formulation may be, it cannot be taken literally if "education" is to continue to have consistent meaning. Shall we apply in our work the doctrine of deliberately built-in shoddy "technological obsolescence"?

What has been said is not intended to make a moral case against promotion, but to point up its difficulties for continuing education in universities, with particular reference to the kind of response we may expect from the audience. One of the conditions of the creation of plenty, of the opportunity for leisure, is that a larger number than in previous societies of humanly unnecessary goods and services has been created. Continuing adult education seems superficially to be among them. Learning, like looking at television, consumes time, and this is the basis for

the notion that it is the same order of experience.

For all that, we can count on a "natural" response from the individuals of our audience. Status-seeking seems to blanket everything, but, like a meringue, it is only puff. All the people all the time do not respond to "something for nothing" and "instant" commodities. Life itself contradicts the idea so strenuously urged by the mass media. It requires a pattern of steady work to bring up children; and most people are quite aware that it takes years. The message of our inherited literature and religion and the experiences of family life are stabilizing realities in this world of make-believe. And education is recognized, deep down, by the American audience as part of the real world in which work results, not perhaps in "status," but in stature.

This, then, is the sturdy cultural base upon which we may build positive promotion for extension and evening colleges. Administrators, troubled by the perversions of human appetites and dreams that occur in advertising and public relations, can believe that our campaigns can make a direct and honest appeal to legitimate aspirations. We need not be pessimistic. If an attempt is being made to debauch the audience to whom we appeal, that does not mean it will succeed. Evening colleges have had experience in recent years with millions of people who have come to us to study—something quite different from their "consuming" education. At times it has even seemed to some of us that they have returned to the classroom with something like relief.

True enough, in the situation now existing, continuing education is not yet perceived by the bulk of our potential audience as a necessity. Americans are still wallowing in the first society with freedom from work known to human beings. Only now are many catching up with the irony that leisure has its obligations, and that continued learning is the major and primary one. It is, for example, a great deal harder to fall into an atomic war if men are aware of the consequences. But it takes time and effort to educate and be educated.

The Climate of the 'Sixties

The decade just beginning is a crucial period for the development of all university education. Our institutions are being pulled on the one side by the advocates of limited "élite" education and on the other by the multitudes who already realize that the future, their future, requires ed-

ucation to meet the contingencies of this second industrial revolution of automation. The situation confronts university adult educators with special problems. Some will be tempted to establish rigorous excluding standards to keep the importunate public out. Others, dazzled by opportunity the other way, may sell education for a mess of pottage.

In this crisis, evening colleges have a particular responsibility to be crystal clear in the presentation of their point of view—in other words, in their promotion. Although many people are not yet aware of the full implications of the Brave New World, and even more continue to be bemused by the simple-minded hedonism of commercial advertising, we can count on a growing response to an appeal which describes continuing education neither as "fun" nor "drudgery" but as an activity native to the new Learning Society. This attitude must permeate promotion, most particularly in making course descriptions describe the work of the course rather than the beneficent results of instruction. This can be done even in describing courses which seem more obviously geared to the light leisure approach. (See Exhibit C for an example.)

Universities and their extension units which fail to take the new dispensations of society into account may in a few years become unrecognizable as educational enterprises. Social changes taking place have already had consequences upon our curricula and that of parts of our parent institutions. The special implications for promotion are clear: We can reach our audience best by emphasizing this sense of a new world of hope, of what Sir Julian Huxley has termed "the revolution of rising expectations," but not a new world achieved painlessly.

It may well be that, in communicating with this audience in transition, there are problems not yet met by the present generation of practitioners in advertising or public relations. Usually these days the educated group in the population sees advertising primarily in the context of ethics. The communications professionals respond angrily to what seems a steady bombardment of "holier than thou" pronouncements. But what happens in the next generation may make the whole debate irrelevant. As a growing and an ever more educated population responds to promotional messages with more sophistication, it may become unprofitable rather than unethical to persuade the public in the way it is now being persuaded.

Certainly the advertising business is changing. Large agencies on

X30.1A. Sketching for Nonsketchers**Fee: \$40.00***

For full description, see page 70.

Sec. I: Mon. 8.15-10, Sept. 26-Jan. 16; Sec. II: Tues. 6.15-8, Sept. 27-Jan. 17; Sec. III: Tues. 8.15-10, Sept. 27-Jan. 17; at Town Hall classroom, 123 West 43d Street, Manhattan.

X30.2A. Advanced Sketching**Fee: \$40.00***

For full description, see page 70.

Mon. 6.15-8, Sept. 26-Jan. 16, at Town Hall classroom, 123 West 43d Street, Manhattan.

X30.3A. Advanced Sketching in Color**Fee: \$50.00***

For full description, see page 70.

Thurs. 5.45-8, Sept. 29-Jan. 19, at Town Hall classroom, 123 West 43d Street, Manhattan.

31. Learning to Paint**Fee: \$40.00**

For those who want to take the first steps in learning how to paint in oil. Each student is given help on such problems as mixing the paint, handling the brush, composition, and representation. No special ability or training preceding the course is required, though a course in drawing is highly recommended as desirable experience. Students are expected to supply their own materials. Sec. I: HOWARD SIMON—Mon. 8.10-9.55, Sept. 26-Jan. 16; Sec. II: LEO MANSON—Wed. 6.15-8, Sept. 28-Jan. 18; Sec. III: MYRWYN L. EATON—Thurs. 6.15-8, Sept. 29-Jan. 19; Sec. IV: ELSA TENNHARDT—Fri. 1.30-3.30, Sept. 30-Jan. 27; Sec. V: MADELEINE GERIERE—Fri. 6.15-8, Sept. 30-Jan. 27; Sec. VI: STEFANO CUSUMANO—Sat. 10-12, Oct. 1-Jan. 28.

31.2. Painting**Fee: \$40.00**

For those who have completed one or two semesters of Learning to Paint, and are ready to go on to more advanced problems in painting, such as greater emphasis on picture composition. Sec. I: SAMUEL M. ADLER—Mon. 6.15-8, Sept. 26-Jan. 16; Sec. II: ELSA TENNHARDT—Thurs. 1.30-3.30, Sept. 29-Jan. 19; Sec. III: STEFANO CUSUMANO—Fri. 8.10-9.55, Sept. 30-Jan. 27.

32. Portrait and Figure Painting**Fee: \$50.00 (includes model fee)**

Figure painting from the model, for those with experience of at least one semester each of drawing and painting, or two semesters of painting, or the equivalent. HOWARD SIMON. Fri. 6.15-9, Sept. 30-Jan. 27.

33. Creative Drawing**Fee: \$45.00 (includes model fee)**

The problem of picture structure, the mastery of craft, and the relation of drawing to painting are explored. Drawing from life, still life, and imagination are included with stress placed upon the creative aspects. All media are used. MADELEINE GERIERE. Thurs. 8.10-9.55, Sept. 29-Jan. 19.

*No registration fee.

Consultation with an adviser is required before registration in courses marked with the symbol ☉.

**33.1. Drawing from Life****Fee: \$50.00 (includes model fee)**

Drawing from the nude model in various media for knowledge of the human figure and discipline in the fundamental skills of the artist. Students must have had a minimum of two semesters of drawing, or drawing and painting, before registration is permitted in this class. SAMUEL M. ADLER. Mon. 8.10-9.55, Sept. 26-Jan. 16.

34. Advanced Painting**Fee: \$65.00**

Further investigation into the technical problems of oil painting from still life and from the figure and imaginative composition. Principles of picture structure (functional design). Development of techniques of analytical criticism. Students who desire to give more hours to painting are invited to use the Mews Studio at times to be announced. Sec. I: SAMUEL M. ADLER—Tues. 6.15-9.55, Sept. 27-Jan. 17; Sec. II: SAMUEL M. ADLER—Wed. 6.15-9.55, Sept. 28-Jan. 18; Sec. III: LEO MANSON—Thurs. 6.15-9.55, Sept. 29-Jan. 19.

35. Water-Color Painting**Fee: \$40.00**

A special group for those who wish to work in water colors. Open to beginners in this medium and to those somewhat more advanced. Students are advised to take one semester of either drawing or painting before attempting this course. HOWARD SIMON. Tues. 8.10-9.55, Sept. 27-Jan. 17.

35.5. The Week-End Painter**Fee: \$50.00**

Are you a "week-end painter?" Do you need criticism, instruction, a chance to meet other spare-time painters, or perhaps merely a place to paint in a studio equipped to provide a working atmosphere and facilities? The Division opens its studio on Saturday afternoon for painting in the studio or as a "home" base for outdoor sketching. Various levels of proficiency, ranging from beginning painting to several years of part-time work, are accommodated. If students wish occasionally to work from a model, it will be made possible. A professional artist is present for criticism and instruction. Four hours of additional time in the studio can be arranged during the remainder of the week end at no additional fee. LUCIA A. SALEMME. Sat. 1-5, Oct. 1-Jan. 28.

Exhibit C

"The Week-End Painter" is described in the catalog of New York University's Division of General Education. The temptation to be relaxed and enthusiastic in the text is well-nigh overpowering but should be fought. The course should be described in terms of instruction: in the long run (and even in the short) enrollment benefits and the level of student capability is kept at a higher common denominator.

Madison Avenue are going through organizational convulsions as they try to respond to the marketing needs of clients by revising their structure so that they may become "complete" marketing agencies. There is much uncertainty in such a situation. The lesson for evening college staff people concerned with promotion is clear: to be ourselves. Let us learn from whomever or whatever can teach us, but let us examine the reality of our promotional needs.

The favorable portent for our evening colleges today is that promotion may be undertaken in a "seller's market." Let us not relax on that account. No kind of market can substitute in the long run for good programs. Present healthy enrollments do not result from the accident of prosperity or population explosion, but from sound planning. Let us therefore look at programs and how they relate to promotion.

Promotion Grows from Programs

It is an ill understood and too often bypassed condition of university adult education that promotion follows, grows from, programming. Too often the academic thinks, "Of course, if promotion were any good, it would fill that Econ. 31 class with eager, pulsing (non-credit) pursuers of economic truth." The facts of life are otherwise, but the attitude remains common enough on our campuses today. The professorate, particularly in the humanities, tends to regard non-credit programming with some of the same incredulity that immolated lovers of classical music express about rock-and-roll. Universities are among the most conservative of social institutions, and an observer might think that extension had been invented by a mischievous Arie merely to taunt our colleagues.

Whatever one's view of commerce, there is more life on the Rialto, where many of our students come from. Our program problem is to keep the academic faith and invent courses that can meet the needs of adult students—even some of those whose attention span is geared to the annual automobile model, seasonal fashions, or the latest movie. While agreeing fervently that there are disadvantages implicit in the compulsive search for novelty, there remains the thought that its sterile opposite is worse—and too common in higher education. When businesses go bankrupt, they frequently do so because they failed to observe their market. So schools and universities, perhaps a bit more slowly, can shrink and disappear if they do not respond to human needs and serve human

purpose. The best promotion grows from the most imaginative programs. How do we get those?

A sense of the world and a feeling for people are vital for good promotion, but the real point in our extension work is that these qualities had better be applied in the first place to the developing of the courses of evening colleges. Happily, programming and promotion are in most situations a joint activity, performed by the same people as individuals and in groups. The underlying concept of the program is larger than the complete course of study offered by a school. That concept permeates human relations. It dominates the extra-curricular activities, and, with enthusiastic people at work, a kind of promotional version of the Second Law of Thermodynamics may be observed—surrounding bodies are warmed.

Even in the context of orthodox replicas of "daytime" curricula at night, opportunity exists for a meaningful relationship with students and potential students, a relationship of benefit to them and hence to enrollment. But if the thinking of the evening college staff is permitted any range, then many exciting things can happen. New courses, conferences, work with special groups develop, and are inextricably enmeshed with promotion.

All new courses need care and feeding. If a course in the sciences is in prospect—and these days it may well be—then scholarships for selected groups may be helpful as pump priming. In all cases, attention to mailing lists is of first importance. The Extension Division of UCLA provides an outstanding example of intelligent list building in the promotion of the liberal arts. In its development of the cross-discipline "big" course (see Exhibit D for examples), well written and elegantly designed folders have been conceived for a clearly identifiable audience, thirsty for the arts in the arid cultural climate of Southern California. This audience provides a group of repeaters for many programs.

New courses are essential to the morale of the extension staff. Our self-image is that of the educational frontier, romantic and practical at once. The practical part is very often largely promotion.

The idea of promotion is built in when a school establishes a program of any kind in co-operation with a non-academic group, say a trade association. Usually, a good deal of enthusiasm accompanies the initial

undertaking; people from the co-operating organization work hard to help enroll students. As the program becomes regularly offered through the years, the recruiting task becomes more difficult; it is then that promotional techniques become more important. Parenthetically, one lesson learned by many extension units has been that such co-operative efforts may well have their own life span, and recognition of that fact may be more valuable than chalking up four-and-a-half hard-found students in a course that used to enroll sixty, and then saying defeatedly that it was the failure of "promotion."

Similarly, which is it, promotion or programming, when we talk about the rhythm in which programs of study should be given? Shall a course be scheduled every term, every year? Sometimes, if a course concerns an industrial innovation, it may be given just once and then never again.

In effect, the promotional genius functions best when it is entwined with seasoned program sense. The evening college flourishes when individual administrators have both ideas in mind almost without thinking about either, a symbiotic and "instinctive" professional response. The college flourishes even more when members of extension staffs complement each other's strong points and experience. Be it said that creative programming never results from neat organization charts on a dean's office wall. The mind, a grasping, greedy searcher after order, is not itself orderly. To clean house, it throws things on the floor and out the window.

"Getting to Know You"

Characteristic of the combined programmer-promoter is an insatiable curiosity about people. If one can, in fact, as the cant phrase goes, "identify a need in the community," half the job of promotion is done. To find out such needs, one has to talk to people in and out of class, see hundreds of them at enrollment time, and read all kinds of books, articles and newspapers omnivorously. Clippings provide useful material. Our field of study is our students and their way of life—not the fantasied way of life of television dramas and advertisements, but the way they really live. We must saturate ourselves with it. Our syntheses must be conscious and always in train, never complacent. Our curriculum is the most fluid of any in the university; and that is as it should be, for ours is the most



Thursday, September 24

- LECTURE: **MODERN MAN AND THE MEANING OF ART**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **PALAEOLITHIC MAN'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE**
Mr. With
- FILM: **LASCAUX (Cradle of Man's Art).**

Thursday, October 1

- LECTURE: **THE EVOLUTION FROM REALISTIC TO SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION IN PREHISTORIC PAINTING**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **THE CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE NEOLITHIC AGE**
Mr. With

Thursday, October 8

- LECTURE: **PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND CULTURE**
Mr. Altman
- FILM: **THE MAYA THROUGH THE AGES. HEART OF THE INCA EMPIRE.**

Thursday, October 15

- LECTURE: **AMERICAN FRONTIER ART: THE INDIAN AS A CATALYST OF AMERICAN CULTURE**
Mr. Dental
- LECTURE WITH MUSICAL DEMONSTRATIONS: **PANORAMA OF INDO-AMERICAN MUSIC**
Miss Waldo and assistants

Thursday, October 22

The Sociological Function of Art in Primitive Societies:

- LECTURE: **FAMILY, CLAN, TRIBE**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **SECRET SOCIETIES AND INITIATION RITES**
Mr. With
- FILM: **TOTEMS. PICTURE IN YOUR MIND.**

Thursday, October 29

The Magic Function of Art in Primitive Societies:

- LECTURE: **ANIMISM AND FETTERISM**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **FERTILITY CULTS AND THE WORSHIP OF NATURE**
Mr. With
- FILM: **BUMA (African sculptures). THE LEGEND OF THE RAVEN (Eskimo sculptures).**

Thursday, November 5

- LECTURE: **THE CULT OF THE DEAD IN PREHISTORIC AND PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **SEPULCHRAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND CHINA**
Mr. With

Thursday, November 12

- LECTURE: **THE EMERGENCE OF HISTORICAL CULTURES IN EGYPT, MESOPOTAMIA, INDIA AND CHINA**
Mr. With
- FILM: **THE ART OF EGYPT**

Thursday, November 19

- LECTURE: **GREEK ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE**
Mr. With
- LECTURE: **THE THEATER OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY**
Mr. Melnitz

Tuesday, November 24

- LECTURE: ROMAN ARCHITECTURE AND
ENGINEERING STRUCTURES
Mr. With
LECTURE: ROMAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE,
PAINTING AND PORTRAITURE
Mr. With
FILM: ANCIENT PETRA, ANCIENT BAALBECK
AND PALMYRA, POMPEII AND VESUVIUS.
There will be no meeting Thursday, November 28.

Thursday, December 3

- LECTURE: EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE
ART AND ARCHITECTURE
Mr. With
LECTURE: ROMANESQUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE
Mr. With
FILM: GOSPEL IN STONE (Medieval sculptures).
Frescoes in Medieval Danish
Country Churches.

Thursday, December 10

- LECTURE: THE CATHEDRAL OF CHARTRES
Mr. With
LECTURE: THE REBIRTH OF THE DRAMA IN
THE CHURCH
Mr. Melnitz
FILM: FROM DORIC TO GOTHIC

Thursday, December 17

- LECTURE WITH MUSICAL DEMONSTRATIONS: MEDIEVAL MUSIC
Mr. Stein
FILM: THE WORLD OF MOSAIC.
IMAGES MEDIEVALES (Medieval Miniatures).

Monday, December 21

- LECTURE: BUDDHIST AND HINDUISTIC ART AND
ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA
Mr. With
LECTURE: ANGKOR VAT
Mr. With
FILM: BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES IN INDIA.
HINDUISTIC CAVE TEMPLES IN INDIA.
BHARATA NATYAM (Classical South Indian
Dance).

There will be no meetings Thursday, December 24 and 31.

Thursday, January 7

- LECTURE: THE BORO BUDUR IN JAVA
Mr. With
LECTURE WITH MUSICAL DEMONSTRATIONS: THE MUSIC OF
INDONESIA
Mr. Hood

Thursday, January 14

- LECTURE: BUDDHIST STATUARY IN CHINA
AND JAPAN
Mr. With
LECTURE WITH MUSICAL DEMONSTRATIONS: THE MUSIC OF
JAPAN
Mr. Malm

Thursday, January 21

- LECTURE: THE THEATRICAL TRADITION IN JAPAN
Mr. Tierney
FILM: CREATIVE ARTS IN JAPAN.
YOSHI NO YAMA (classical dance).

Thursday, January 28

- LECTURE: FAR EASTERN PAINTING
Mr. With
LECTURE: SHINTO AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE
IN JAPAN
Mr. With
FILM: ORIENTAL BRUSHWORK. THE SWORD
AND THE FLUTE (Indian miniatures)

Saturday, January 30; 10:00 a.m.

Final examination (2½ hours) for persons taking
the course for credit.

Exhibit D

Cover and lecture outline of a multi-discipline course in the arts effectively mounted at UCLA as a popular offering for an adult audience in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Presented at the Westwood campus, it has in the past three years attracted more than 3,000 registrants. The folder (different each semester) is rich in pictures and projects a sense of the range of aesthetic experience which is proposed.

assertive response in higher education to a society in rapid movement.

This is not to say, however, that all our programs must respond nervously to the stimuli of the immediate. There are deep constant demands that adults make, permanent features of continuing education. For example, they want English grammar and composition courses. Some evening college folk are made uneasy by these courses, not knowing how many doctoral candidates need them. If the demand disappears in the next thirty or forty years, it will be because high school and undergraduate English courses have improved beyond recognition in that period.

Getting at the continuing educational needs of adults from another direction, it is clear that languages will be as important for Americans in the coming century as they have been in the past for Europeans. (Promotional sidelight relevant to languages and other areas: Sometimes the offering of a new course constitutes its own promotion, not this time around, but for two or three years hence. This is particularly true when an audience cannot be readily pinpointed and when a school must spread vigorous word broadside about such a course. "Failure" in such a case may be merely preparation.)

The discussion of what programs will bring registrations is obviously central to a discussion of promotion. This question may have limited importance for credit programs decreed by precedent, but it is clear today that the non-credit area is not only important because of its novelty, change and vigor, but because students go there if those characteristics prevail.

Our data collection will bring different information on each campus, at each center. Local industrial patterns and cultural differences mean different curricular adaptations. For all that, there are lessons to be learned from the successes of our peers. Perhaps the initial advice on how to be creative in program and promotion is to remember the old Hungarian recipe for a Magyar omelette . . . "First, steal three eggs." The entire reason for knowing what everybody else is up to so busily on his local campus is to get ideas and apply them in our own situation. Many of our local observations will become certified as general conditions when we look with care at the catalogs of our sister schools across the continent.

Hardy Perennials of Non-credit Programming

As already noted, basic courses in English, in writing and speech, would appear to be a permanent part of non-credit curricula. Again as noted, we may expect courses in languages to be popular and growing in popularity, not only the European, but the more exotic Asian and African tongues as well. Russian in the last five years has shown greatly increased enrollments; and so, now, do Japanese, Chinese, Arabic.

Psychology seems a persistent favorite, with words like "Psychiatry" in the title doing no damage to enrollment statistics. The constant problem of professional ethics should be met not by stuffily refusing to offer a popular course, but by a careful choice of the instructor.

Painting and drawing classes are perennials, too. Follow-through via well-publicized exhibitions of both student and faculty work is an obvious promotional additive. (Quibble: Is painting for fun, for relaxation, a legitimate area of university instruction? A tedious question, but one not infrequently heard from liberal arts colleagues who often display this sort of parochialism. Answer: Purpose of our instruction is not fun, but mastery. If pleasure is an incidental result, then we must impenitently affirm that we are not particularly displeased if our students whistle while they work.)

Recently, new curricular areas have developed with promise of long-term appeal. The combined electronics-cum-business field is growing. Here we may see the advantage of early curiosity. Institutions which tried out courses in data-processing and machine accounting some years ago had modest success or even failed, yet had the advantage of dry runs, of testing instruction and audience. Now they have teeming classrooms.

To be sure, that old devil "legitimacy" again raises its beady head, at least among the pure Parnassians. What right has a university to offer this order of instruction? Superficially, the question may appear irrelevant to promotion, but it is most important in the internal relations of the evening college and will be considered in depth in the section on the faculty later in this paper. Suffice it to say for now that one answer at least is that such instruction represents a compelling need of our automated society and requires a fairish mathematics background as well as general intelligence (although not the background of literary culture sometimes prized to the exclusion of other intellectual aptitudes).

Anatomy of the "Big" Cultural Course

A new version of the cross-discipline course popular in progressive undergraduate colleges some years ago has lately come to flower among the more energetic extension divisions. These five-star razzle-dazzle courses have self-explanatory titles like "The High Middle Ages," covering a period of intellectual and cultural boom. Or "The Arts and Man," connecting the strands of human experience through the centuries. Or sometimes such courses, in a new and altogether ebullient variation, will be an educational paean to a parent city, like the "San Francisco Renaissance" launched by the University of California at Berkeley or the "Detroit Adventure" put on in metropolitan Detroit by Wayne State and the University of Michigan. (See Exhibit E.) A useful side-effect of these courses is the self-publicizing element which contributes to the institutional image both extra- and intra-murally.

These large "productions" not only feature prominent guest lecturers, but are often aided greatly by a moving spirit of vigor and special intensity in the person of a "popularizing scholar"—a man in the tradition of Yale's Billy Phelps of the last generation, a great teacher and unabashed enthusiast. Part of the promotion task, then, after conceiving the idea, is to find such people. Another part of administrative homework on such a course is to make sure that the course description (widely circulated) is clearly summarized at some length and regarded as IMPORTANT. Detail work of "producing" the ensemble (props, space, lights) becomes as significant a task in program-promotion as the more obvious publicizing in advance of the first session.

It will be seen how the promotion and programming functions are mixed, as in a marble cake, in these undertakings. They are all "big" courses, that is, they are conceived to have large enrollments of literate folk. They are all popular courses, that is, they are not intended to advance scholarship but to extend it to the generality of the educated. They are continuing education of the educated; and they are not thrice-told tales in which the instructor's notes have become dog-eared. Under the university sun, they are something new, attractive both to the institution's own alumni and to a multitude of adults with ten-, twenty- and thirty-year-old degrees.

Courses and programs of the sort just noted result from a ferment among extension staffs, from the thinking of program-promoters (ear-

to-the-ground, eyes darting from side to side, nostrils sniffing the atmosphere). In their development, techniques of promotion are secondary to inspired course selection. The loosest control over program planning compatible with orderly administration should be exercised upon an enthusiastic staff, once gotten together. Mistakes will be made, but successes will multiply.

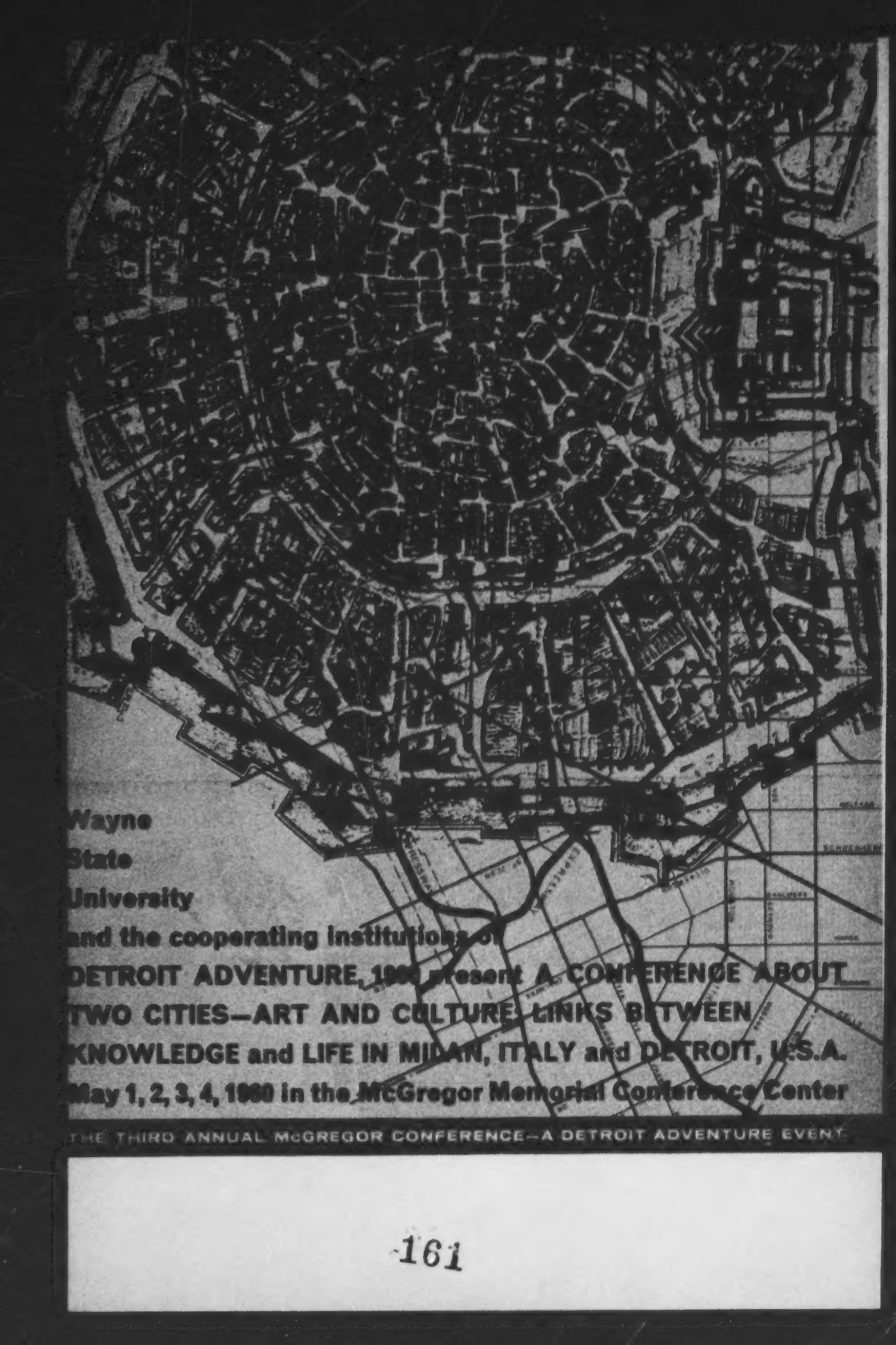
The Promotion Specialist on the Staff

Giving everyone his head is all right, but even in a small extension unit, there should be some one person specializing in the technical "promotion" function. Enthusiasm and keen thinking notwithstanding, drudgery as well as imagination is required of such a person. Should this be a limited low-level assignment? Or should it be at a second level, immediately under the purview of Dean or Director? Sometimes, as often happens in both public and private institutions, a prescribed table of organization makes the discussion academic. But in a more open hiring situation, a decision about the kind of person for the promotion job can be made in the light of other factors.

If the dean or director is himself an energetic and promotionally-oriented man, then the need is for a technical assistant at a lower level. This holds true, perhaps, until the school or extension unit achieves a size which makes it difficult for the larger promotion activity to be exercised entirely by such a dean. Then someone is needed to supplement him at the second level. This should be someone with administrative responsibility for a program area. Program responsibility will put him in day-to-day relation with problems from which most public relations men stand at one remove. It will serve to chasten him and give him a realistic view of his work quite different from the typically self-aggrandizing theoretical view which makes "PR" co-extensive with the management function itself.

Without doubt, knowledge of public relations is a plus value for the promotion man in our field. Commercial experience can often show us the way to deal with several phases of the job, but a caveat must be entered. Henry Wriston makes it well: ". . . Since commercial operations cannot produce people, general comparisons with businesses which have wholly different objectives are more likely to be confusing than revealing."²

2. Henry M. Wriston, Academic Procession—Reflections of a College President, Columbia University Press, New York, 1959, p. 129.



Wayne
State
University

and the cooperating institutions of
DETROIT ADVENTURE, 1990 present **A CONFERENCE ABOUT
TWO CITIES—ART AND CULTURE LINKS BETWEEN
KNOWLEDGE and LIFE IN MILAN, ITALY and DETROIT, U.S.A.**
May 1, 2, 3, 4, 1990 in the **McGregor Memorial Conference Center**

THE THIRD ANNUAL MCGREGOR CONFERENCE—A DETROIT ADVENTURE EVENT

Exhibit E

Detroit Adventure is a highly original conference venture given life by Wayne State University. A kind of municipal ebullience buoys up the presentation of which the folder sheet here shown gives the 1960 graphic motif. Other booklets and posters also carry through the idea of the two-city conference by using the blue map of Detroit superimposed upon the black inked map of 16th century Milan. Paper stock is of excellent quality.

The 1960 program involved participants from Italy and the United States exploring the origins and meaning of city life. The director of "Detroit Adventure," William M. Birenbaum, Assistant Vice-President of Wayne State, reports about impact:

"All of the concluding conference of the 1961 ADVENTURE was taped, and almost all of it played not only on educational radio, but on our largest commercial AM station, WJR (50,000 watts). The conference, therefore, was heard throughout Michigan, Indiana, and most of Ohio. Reactions to portions of the program were the largest ever flowing into the station. . . .

"The conference tapes are now being played on USIA programs in Europe." The Italian press was full of DETROIT ADVENTURE last spring at the climactic time.

"The last ADVENTURE had a tremendous impact upon my faculty. With the participation of Carlo Levi, Robert Lowell, Stonorov and the others, this was to be expected. We make all of our guests available for classes, faculty seminars, etc. Thanks to the 1961 ADVENTURE, a great many of our students in literature spent an entire day with Quasimodo, Lowell, and our own Pulitzer poet, Snodgrass, all in the same classroom, discussing and reading each other's poetry.

"We are uniquely developing a new image—an image of one dimension of a metropolis. But it is a dimension bearing upon civic pride, pride which can become manifest through the intellect and the goods of life. It is not the expressways or the automobile shows which lead our people to connect with the ADVENTURE—but the wealth of western civilization, particularly as that wealth is collected and apparent in this city. I like to think we are making the existence of variety here respectable."

There is a difference of function between the promotion man (let us eschew "public relations") in our field of higher adult education and the function as exercised in industry, charitable organizations or even in our parent institutions. Historically, in continuing education, promotion has been much more closely wedded to the planning and programming role than in the traditional undergraduate or graduate situation. In universities, the public relations man has been tacked on afterwards, because "PR" is new as a self-conscious professional field. But the evening college is new too; it finds the tools of promotion a necessity and a help, because its major purpose is to involve adults, many of them, in an undertaking they do not yet regard as "normal" for adult life. Our promotion man plays every minute of the game. He is not a drop-kicker who comes running over from the side-lines for a special situation.

Yet it should be understood that he has as a major responsibility the somewhat intangible job of promoting intra-institutional relations. When done to perfection, of course, this job is invisible. (Save that the jobholder will be sophisticated enough to call occasional attention to his role.) Much of the task may be to encourage programming of a certain character among the staff-faculty complex of the extension arm itself. When an evening college is more rigidly bound by an established system of relations with university departments or with other "regular" schools, then an important part of the job will be to woo support for continuing education among those schools—and from central administrations and legislatures, too. A lingering death often results when original creative programs are submitted for (daytime) "departmental approval." Yet the requirement for such submission is often one of the harsh facts of life. An outline of what may be done in these intramural relations is contained in the later section of this paper under the heading of "The Faculty."

A man from an academic field is probably better suited to the promotion function than one chosen for previous experience in public relations or advertising. To be sure, experience in these or in publicity is valuable and should be gotten quickly by a newcomer. But an important part of the promotion man's job is internal to his school and university—to act as yeast and to teach his colleagues. He is better off if he is a teacher to start with.

There is a great deal of chore work to be done by a promotion man, and he should have the executive sense to be able to delegate some of it.

On the other hand, he had better not become status-conscious and above the chores. He must expect to move gracefully from the role of policy-maker and grand decision expediter to that of errand boy, carrying with his own grubby hands galleys to be returned to printers or bundles of brochures to be mailed to prospect lists. To some extent, this is why we must characterize our functionary as a promotion rather than as a "PR" man. The latter is too lofty a concept for much of the work to be done.

Copy Orientation

Technically, our promotion man will be best suited to his job if he writes well, if he is copy-oriented. This means primarily the ability to communicate clearly to the several levels of our audience. In fine, ability to use the English language is perhaps the major clue to success in the promotion job, the basic precondition of the assignment. The copy-oriented person is more likely to have program ideas that have an indigenous relation to the task of the evening college. A graphics-oriented person, or for that matter any excessively subject-matter-oriented person, is likely to distort the job and let down the central inclusive purpose of the extension division.

The graphics-oriented person or subject matter scholar is ill suited to the promotion job in the same way that the recent vogue for choreographers to direct musical comedy is in error. The choreographers make everything into a dance. Not that the book of the musical is more important, but the ensemble, the total effect, certainly is. And the ensemble in our work is better understood by word-oriented people, accustomed to communicate through language. Let us note in passing that advertising and public relations people tend to use their own gobbledegook just as much as do educators. While some of it may mean something to the fraternity, if little to outsiders, copy-orientation does not mean command of such shop talk or secret language.

Research

To what extent shall we depend on Research (capital R) to tell us about our audience? "Research," of course, is the storm cellar we all run to when a course is offered and nobody comes.

"Why not"?

"We just don't know. We just don't have the money or time to do the

proper job of Research."

Well, who does?

Granted the importance of much-needed data collection in extension work, let us not expect the need to be served by the "quantifications of the obvious" that make up so much of scholarship in the social sciences, or by the elaborations of market research that merely add weight to client and agency filing cabinets. Ultimately the test of such information is its soundness as predication; but if success were as generally assured as the output is large, there would be far less competition among commercial researchers. Pierre Martineau, director of research and marketing for the Chicago Tribune, puts it simply about the advertising man: "Very often he writes a successful ad for the wrong reasons and vice versa."³

And the doyens of applied social science research have this to say: "A review of the current state of actual knowledge concerning the social role of the mass media of communication and their effects upon the contemporary American community is an ungrateful task, for certified knowledge of this kind is impressively slight."⁴

Such comment and quotation are not by way of urging a hard-shell fundamentalist rejection of research either in our field in general, or in determining the characteristics of our audience in particular. On the contrary, it is to urge that we do as much as we can afford to do and can formulate properly. This last is most important. We have to know what we want to find out and why, before we can ask researchers to go about the finding out. A great deal of frustration results from our lack of realization of our own responsibility to determine goals of the research. It is not enough to pay for it.

There remain personal observation and curiosity, which, in the formulation of programs and promotions alike, is a most important activ-

3. Quoted by Joseph Kaselow, advertising columnist for the New York Herald-Tribune, reporting an all-day session on creativity in advertising held November 4, 1959, under the auspices of the Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

4. Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, in Chapter VII, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," The Communication of Ideas, Lyman Bryson, editor, published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, distributed by Harper & Bros., New York, 1948, p. 97.

ity of the entire evening staff. So much may be discovered merely by asking questions of clerks who answer telephones in the general information offices of the university, by talking to telephone operators, by listening to teachers. A great deal of the most important information-gathering about our students cannot be handled by formal inquiries at all, but must result from the exchange of staff experience and the cultivation of the art of paying attention. In fact, this sort of invisible work, energetically done, provides the proper theoretic platform from which one launches the more formal inquiries dignified by the word, "Research."

Media Surveyed

From research, an easy modulation carries us into a consideration of media. Now, "media" is a brilliantly shop-talky word. Its very sound daunts, and keeps all but the priesthood away. "Media analysts" and "media specialists" evoke the same sort of tension among laymen that gripped Lancelot in the presence of Merlin. The occult seems to be operative, and there are overtones of power exercised remotely, images of millions of dollars and millions of consumers, of sponsors, of Jack Paar, of William Randolph Hearst, of payola and other associations of sin and splendor. At the rational level, however, discussions of media make us uneasy because they catch us at the place we live: at the heart of evening college promotion is constant uncertainty about the best ways to reach our audience.

Instead of looking for help under the heading of media, let us separate out the problems and get at them one by one. Some of them will be quite unglamorous—list-building, for example. But to dispose of any remaining feeling that we are invading a religious sanctuary, let us just glance at the index listing after the word "media" in one of the best books available on direct mail. It says . . . "Media . . . See also Billboards. . . ."⁵

So the elaborate language comes down to matter-of-fact decisions between, say, a varityped folder mailed to a thousand people or a fifty-dollar ad in the business section of the Sunday newspaper. And for all the re-cherché appeals, little study has been made of the real basis upon which even the large decisions are made, let alone how small accidents influence massive advertising budgets.

5. Edward N. Mayer, Jr., How to Make More Money with Your Direct Mail, Funk and Wagnalls in association with Printers' Ink, New York, 1950.

"One suspects," says economist Kenneth Boulding, "although we have no studies of this, that face-to-face or personal messages are of great importance even in the determination of business decisions. . . . The gossip in the club and on the golf course may be of much more importance in effecting radical reorganizations of the image of alternatives in the minds even of quite responsible and important businessmen than is sometimes imagined."⁶

Paradoxically, perhaps, our relatively small-scale promotion decisions can be made upon firmer bases than the large ones of great merchandisers . . . if, that is, we keep in touch with our constituency and don't try to overprofessionalize.

Major ways in which we reach our audience are direct mail, newspaper advertising, newspaper and trade magazine publicity and personal communication. This last may seem odd in a media listing, but it is a way to reach people and its importance in extension promotion will be developed. Other media than the ones mentioned just above are more rarely used. Television? We can't afford it except for occasional publicity. Radio? Rarely, although some schools, like the New School for Social Research in New York, have found it useful enough to continue to expend advertising dollars and, of course, publicity energy. Magazines of general circulation? Not useful except to pick up articles about ourselves or about adult learning as reprints to impress or inform our local audience. Those help build the school image better than television publicity, which is obviously less durable than print.

Additionally, television, like radio, an entertainment medium, has a native defect in that it is likely to misrepresent a course of study. Recently, for example, a disc jockey notice of the new semester's offering in a medium-sized city university ("Go on down to University College - it's fun") attracted many students who promptly dropped out when they found that the courses were beyond their ability. Radio or television would not appear worth much publicizing effort for most evening colleges, unless they take every care to make clear who can't or shouldn't enroll, and refuse to admit people who will not benefit from instructions.

There are other rather less-used channels for our promotional mes-

6. Kenneth Boulding, The Image, University of Michigan Press, 1956, p. 88.

sages. Some are expensive, others are not. They include campus newspapers, newsletters, house magazines and special newspapers. We may put a high value on these last as well-read, little-used media, particularly for the messages of evening colleges. It takes time and effort, often, to track down such publications, and each school's list will be built of non-interchangeable parts.⁷

But if we give a course in, say, paint technology, calling it to the attention of members of an organization in that field may well bring us more students than any other promotional gambit. We just have to make sure of an announcement being placed in the group's four-page, monthly, mimeographed newsletter, mailed to 473 people. Also, it is important to keep track of the truly neighborhood newspapers now common in cities and suburbs. They are particularly useful in publicizing off-campus programs, discussion programs in public libraries, and so on. By and large, these efforts don't cost money, just energy.

Checking on such opportunities both for liberal arts and technical or business courses is an important routine function of the promotion man. He needs the reliable assistance of all program administrators in what is a telephone and personal promotional chore, not one that can be done usually through publicity releases. But back to the main line.

Direct Mail—A Balanced View

Most evening colleges, properly enough, spend most of their promotional budget on direct mail. At least, with the information available to most of us, it would seem that we get more students and income from dollars spent on direct mail than on anything else. There remains the im-

7. Wilbur Schramm (in *Responsibility in Mass Communications*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1957, p. 375) has some pertinent remarks on this subject:

"Many of these are the publications of corporations, trade unions, trade associations, community organizations, and similar groups and organizations which have a need to communicate frequently among their own members. Much of the news in these publications used to get into the local newspapers, but it has been crowded out as the newspapers have grown larger and a larger proportion of their space has been given over to wire news and advertising. These house organs, organization bulletins, and private newspapers sometimes reach a very high circulation and are often highly valued and influential with their audiences."

portant question for each school, even those most firmly convinced on this point, of how much in proportion can and should be spent for other activities, for newspaper advertising, for example, to help build the permanent catalog mailing lists. Or how much may properly be deflected to the publication of a student newspaper in the evening college? (Although this will not be an appropriate budget question where student fees directly underwrite such publication.) What shall be allotted as appropriate time by staff members for speeches to local groups—in effect, promotion done in the line of other duty?

The evening college that conceives its promotion too much as a direct mail effort is likely to dry up. Our native effort is dealing with people personally, and our mailings, even if extensive, must supplement not only classroom teaching but the personal contacts of counselors and administrators at registration time and throughout the year. We will go out of business by keeping our students at a distance.

Of course, many evening colleges occupy quarters which would have dampened the ardor of Peter Abelard or Duns Scotus. Yet unless they are studying by correspondence, people are bound to get to class, and they may as well be invited to visit us in offices, however battered or peeling. People are likely to be amazingly cheerful when engaged upon their own continuing education; and they will sympathize with, rather than despise, our shabbiness. Anyway they belong, and we want to hear their voices.

What does this mean for our mailings? It means that there should be constant underlining of the fact that we want our prospective students to telephone us and come to see us with their questions. It means that whether formally organized or not, we should expect to mount a counseling service throughout the year, and that it had best be staffed with administrators of some experience, and that we should make a point in our mail promotion of calling attention to that fact.

The most important mailing piece of the evening college is often not conceived of as such. The catalogs and bulletins of many schools are not only written in unimpressive and noncommunicating "bulletinese," but their typography seems to have been developed by a journeyman printer in the Nevada days of Mark Twain. This happens sometimes because the rules require that the bulletin conform to an arbitrarily stuffy standard of institutional conformity. But it should be axiomatic that the catalog is the primary promotional piece of the evening college.

Some schools barely have a recognizable catalog. That is, they print, not the equivalent of the bulletins of their sister schools in the university, but perhaps a hand-me-down, half-sized, undignified booklet, sometimes even a mere folder. While flash-and-fire are not necessarily the best promotional tone of voice, a meager dullness serves no better. Lack of confidence in the message breeds lack of enthusiasm in the recipient.

However, some programs, being essentially reflections of daytime credit curricula, probably could not live up to promotional flair. Properly enough they are represented by a typically varityped, jumbo-size sheet merely listing courses with days, hours and points of credit and a skeletonized outline of registration procedure. In fact, very few credit programs lend themselves easily to much more than this on a regular basis.

Of course, a credit program can be dramatized by publicizing teachers, or by publishing an elaborate permanent catalog to go to inquirers. Its strength for promotion is its permanence and solidity. Its established curriculum can be the heart of promotion campaigns to industry, involving sending of information for referral purposes to personnel directors and other officers of larger and medium size business firms in the locality. Stimulation of interest by scholarship programs or tuition plans supported by industry is also useful.

Using the Catalog as a Promotion Piece

But non-credit programming offers a more colorful opportunity. If there are even a handful of such courses, they can be made the showcase of a catalog—provided, of course, that they are the fresh, exciting courses they are planned to be. The entire program of the evening college benefits from the excitement engendered by these non-credit courses. Indeed, a non-credit program, fresh and new, perhaps particularly one in the area of the humanities or world affairs, can often help set off a credit school's catalog. It invites reader interest far beyond that produced by the usually tired prose following the entry for Bio.137.1.

Such non-credit courses may grow and flourish, and even if they have no more than a modest success, they invigorate the credit program. Sometimes they cause better descriptions to be written for that biology course, and could even result in better teaching in a credit program. Heresy, perhaps, but a helpful heresy.

The question of what length descriptions to write for a catalog—in oth-

er words, how big a catalog—is a local decision. Many factors contribute, chief among them being how much money is to be devoted to the book. Another variable of some importance is extent of distribution. And another the number of courses. Upon what basis should such decisions be made? Are there any rules of thumb to be followed? One judgment, constantly shifting, must be made term after term by the promotion-policy makers: "What proportion of budgeted money shall be given to catalog and promotion of all courses as a total program, and what shall be given to separate folders describing single courses or major areas such as management courses, languages, etc.?"

Experiences, always reconsidered, must be brought to bear in this planning, as it involves the most important promotional decision. It should be a conscious decision, even if expedient and made too quickly for comfort. Obviously, there is no clear-cut pattern common to the many-campused, multi-programmed University of California, to a relatively small program in a small city such as that of Queens College in Charlotte, North Carolina, or to a one-campus big city program like New York City's New School with a huge population to draw upon and a basic program orientation to the social sciences and humanities.

There are many confusing variables involved in surveying the whole field, but we can extract a few generalizations. With regard to writing copy for the catalog, if we put ourselves in the position of the reader, we will be safer professionally than if we worry about our colleagues' opinions. The standard style won't do, with its blend of legalisms and the abstracted innocence of educational prose as it describes "purposes." Is there an underemployed teacher of writing—article writing or journalism—within your sphere of influence? Or a rewrite man from the local newspaper? Give him the job. But supervise him.

Many excellent programs are badly represented in the evening college's catalog because the catalog is not planned for clarity, editorially and in layout. The parts of the program must be spelled out well enough so that the reader knows where he is. This is sometimes very difficult—what with several campuses, off-campus programs, and programs within programs. If complexity is unavoidable, at least it is wise to start the book with a summary of the organization. After all, the reader knows little about the school, and his interest is not likely to extend to everything. He usually wants information about a particular course or degree curric-

ulum, or he wants to browse through the section of attractive non-credit courses in literature and the arts. Knowing this, we can shape catalogs accordingly.

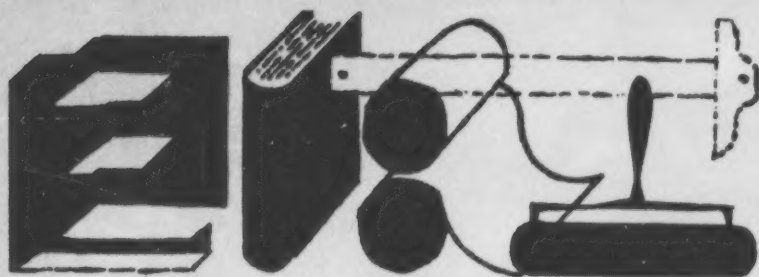
Illustration

Illustration is sometimes quite important. Line drawings can help organize the catalog for the reader when used to introduce descriptions of various units of the school. (See Exhibit F.) Photographs of classes in session create problems because they tend to look alike, and the most interesting shots are likely to be of sculpture classes or geology or museum field trips. A judicious blending of photographs is needed to avoid monotony and give a balanced pictorial view of the program. Getting pictures taken requires much telephoning and insuring of schedules and getting of photographers in and out of classes in five or ten minutes, but it is probably worth the trouble as both teachers and students respond with pleasure rather than irritation—the "office" is taking an interest.

Of course, all of this costs money. It is most feasible to use pictures when the university employs a photographer, or when the promotion man can himself supervise the picture-taking of a free lance. Finally, one must not underestimate the space taken in the catalog. But on the other hand, photographs, properly used, are an aid to good layout.

No generally applicable rule can govern the ratio between the amount to be spent on the catalog and that to be used for other mailing pieces. Other things being equal, a smaller program, as distinguished from a larger and more complex one, will be more likely to depend on a general catalog. It is characteristic, particularly of large programs, that catalogs complement smaller brochures and vice versa. There are few instances in which the bulk of enrollment for a given course may be traced to one or another mailing piece or advertisement or former student referral or the instructor's reputation. All of these mesh in the long run—ideally so that the evening college becomes visible as the part of the university and the place in the community to which adults go as a matter of course when they want to return to the classroom.

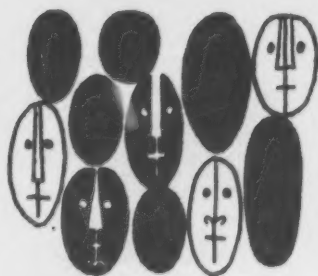
Keeping control of all the promotion elements is like the pilot's problem of keeping an eye on the huge number of gauges and indicators on the panel of a modern jet transport. This is why, as these remarks continue, they tend to shuttle back and forth among the policy and practical elements



1. Graphic Arts



2. Music



5. Sociology

3. Management





4. Advertising



7. Psychology



6. Archaeology

Exhibit F

While photographs are often used for promotional folders and booklets, and sometimes with good effect, school catalogs tend to be duller than they need to be. It is worth occasional attention to get photographs and perhaps to develop a group of drawings representative of a group of various departments. Certainly in the non-credit program, it is possible to picture course work in the lighter vein. Here is one example developed at New York University of illustrations currently in use in the catalog of the Division of General Education.

..*

-budgets and programming, layout, lists, copy, audience psychology, etc. For purposes of identification of printing processes, vocabulary, and so on, orderly inventories and glossaries are contained in several books listed in the bibliography, the most useful being Melcher and Larrick's Printing and Promotion Handbook (McGraw-Hill, 1956, 2nd edition).

Small City and Big City Promotion

The opportunity for list building in sizable metropolitan areas is apparently better than it is in smaller cities. In the latter, it may well be sounder to do extensive newspaper advertising, even going so far as to take a full section of four or eight pages. University College, Syracuse University, did this recently to some advantage; it also has used bus card advertising. Many local factors influence each such decision. A small city program, too, can depend far more than the evening college, often one of several, in the larger city upon personal impact by staff in community organizations, on newspaper people, and so on. The university in a small city is a visible institution, and its evening college's promotion takes place in a community milieu.

Programs large and small, in big city and small, share some problems of list construction. Humanities and liberal arts courses are usually found only in the catalog, because of the difficulties of finding profitable new mailing lists for them. The successful "big" courses in the liberal arts at UCLA result from the work of a staff sensitive to the needs of a culturally-starved but educated audience, many of them relatively new to the areas. List building has probably been the key. Much attention has been paid to building a permanent list of the educated group potentially interested in the humanities. Under the local circumstances, and with the programming imagination shown, this list has been remarkably productive. But local situations vary greatly.

Contrary to some opinion, the extensive lists of presumably intellectual magazines rarely produce much better results in large cities than mailings to high-income neighborhoods, and both are fairly sparse pickings. Such at least has been the experience in the larger cities.

The success of the imaginative, large-scale, cross-discipline courses offered in several schools appears to mean that programming innovation might help overall enrollment in the liberal arts, yet it is not at all as clear-cut as that. Great (and continuing) effort is required to plan and

mount such courses. The instructive conclusion goes back to a basic point, that programming in evening colleges requires far more administrative time and energy than that required in parallel administrative posts in the university. Even so, it is probably useful to spend time developing one or two such grand showpieces each year.

For one thing, their audience remains a constant source of students for other courses. They often serve to reintroduce adults, particularly alumni, to the college classroom. They are certainly more likely to be interesting to college graduates than "Literature from Beowulf to Virginia Woolf." Probably, too, one should not try for quantity production of non-credit courses in literature, the arts or history, but should appeal to the more limited group that is interested via the excitement of novelty.

Separate mailing pieces are used commonly to promote the technical and business courses of an evening program. They may describe one course or a few related courses. For these areas, mailing lists are available from unions, trade associations and the telephone book's yellow pages. Often the instructor himself (sometimes neglected as an information source about lists) will have a few hundred of the most useful names discoverable. Instructors and interested trade association executives and guest lecturers should always be encouraged to send out personal notes with circulars or brochures.

Mailing "Do's," "Don't's" and "Maybe's"

Some shibboleths of direct mail are as mistaken for large commercial users as they are for relatively small institutional users. Personalize? A watchword—but not always. Mayer points out that in some mailing situations it is better to address an executive not by name but by title, to make sure that letter and piece reach the individual you want them to reach on the basis of his function.⁸ This is particularly important when a list is not up-to-date, or in dealing with groups whose members change position rapidly.

Also in the matter of "personalizing," it is better not to send a fill-in process letter at all than to send one done sloppily. In our work, however, a small group, a seminar of executives perhaps, may sometimes be recruited most economically and easily through the most expensive of

8. E. N. Mayer, Jr., op. cit., p. 279.

personalized mailings, automatic typewritten letters. When there is a target audience of from fifty to three hundred, such a letter will work well. It should, of course, be accompanied by a program summary of some elaborateness (but not expensively executed—neat mimeographing will do). On the other hand—and in these matters there always seems to be an "other hand"—sometimes the summary itself will do the trick. If the program of study has been given several times, perhaps one can do without the letter, although the omission would seem inappropriate for a high-fee, high-powered seminar.

The question of salutation of letters has a variety of answers. If we seek through mailings to publicize one or a galaxy of humanities courses or a discussion group series on foreign affairs, and if the mailing is impersonal, then perhaps it is best to avoid the problem of an awkward salutation ("Dear Friend . . .") by using in its place a general summary line describing the program, or, as has often been shown to be provocative, an interrogative headline. The latter has occasionally shown itself sensationally effective in mailings to executives pointing up advantages to business firms of their employees taking a given course. "Does your staff know the answers to these questions? . . ."

These days some letter mailings are made not only without salutation, but without letterhead or with letterhead at the bottom. Such devices are usually not for institutions, whose reputations make considerable impact upon most people in their communities. That value should not be wasted by failing to use letterhead identification. In connection with letterheads, it is important that a certain aesthetic level be maintained in both letter and heading. Conservative or bold, these should have constant characteristics. Continuity in mailings is a difficult achievement for us, save in the rhythm of regular term enrollment times. Institutional identification on letters and on mailing pieces can be helped by a fairly standard but varied graphic style. We can count on much higher recognition of our institutional name among our audience than can most commercial mailers: therefore a good deal of what we do in mailings should be concentrated upon substance, meaning copy, rather than upon gimmicks.

Lists—An Important Chore

Attention given to the tedious matter of mailing lists is likely to prove most important. The fundamental list problem is that it is a dull

problem. So much of it seems just plain routine and method, calling only upon efficient clerks and orderly, if not plodding, intellects. Evening college administrators will be particularly irritated by it all as they face varied and apparently more demanding problems of creative administration. But every profession has its particular kind of dull drudgery, and this probably is ours.

However dull list making and maintenance are—collecting names, filing, cleaning, the physical act of mailing—all these elements are essential if the most wonderful of catalogs is to result in students in the classroom. Despite the monotony, the promotion man may be rewarded by an imaginative, even an intellectual, probing of his list problems—this in addition to absolutely necessary supervision of even the most conscientious personnel. A constant disturbance of routine is inevitable in mailings. Printings are delayed, so are shipments, and then a highly touted list turns out to be only half as extensive as claimed and what do you do with the thousand extra copies of brochure and letter?

All kinds of things can go wrong, and the direct mail business is far from an automated operation. While routine is at the heart of the list enterprise, a mailing, like the development of a battle, does not follow exactly the plans worked out by staff. Perhaps this very point suggests how the job may be made more challenging to an intelligent subordinate assigned to do it. Promotion men are likely to be interested in the program itself, its color, the personalities of teachers, sociology of the audience, aesthetic of mailing pieces. But it is dangerous to avoid the quartermaster task of lists, and here the promotion man may find the logistical and organizing problem an executive challenge.

Imaginative human planning can make the chore for subordinates and administrator alike not only bearable but productive. If the importance of the job is made clear to the supervisory personnel in our own office; if they are invited to contribute their own experience; if the importance of statistics resulting from mailings is made clear; if they can be given a picture of themselves as contributing to the decisions taken and not merely as the receivers of orders, then we may hope—with a final condition—if the delegation has been sound in the first place, that the results will be good.

All of the foregoing assumes a certain size to the mailing part of school promotion. But even if the mailings are relatively small, it is im-

portant to delegate the chore work and treat it professionally. The promotion man should not be smothered with the penny-wise, pound-foolish business of having secretaries and other staff members regularly involved in mass mailings. This is not to say that administrators and secretaries throughout the school should not be involved. On the contrary, the best lists result from such involvement.

In the very first place, the names that they gather as the result of inquiries by telephone, letter or in person form the largest proportion of students for their programs. To a certain extent, department administrators should be encouraged to mail up to, say, two hundred or so of their current list of interested people. After that they should be discouraged and should be persuaded to let professional mailing procedures take over. All staff people, administrative and secretarial, should be made familiar with the mailing procedures. They should be taught to ask the basic questions about any new course: "Who will come? Who is expected to come? How do we reach them?" Departmental administrators should also be reminded periodically of the importance of getting lists from prospective teachers, trade associations or other groups interested in new classes.

It is a byword of list keeping that cleaning lists is the number one headache. People move, and change jobs, or even change their positions within a firm, with astonishing frequency. The percentage of mail returns on a list that is not kept up-to-date can be costly not only in that the printed material returned cannot be used, but also in that, because we follow a pattern of semestral or quarter mailings, we cannot recapture lost time in our schedules. It is of utmost urgency for evening colleges to maintain correct lists of individual names and not to mail to purchased or rented lists that are out of date.

Who should sign letters? Not anybody or everybody in the organization, but by the same token not only the dean or always the promotion man. A simple rule might be that the name signed should be that of the staff administrator who will receive inquiries, applications and enrollments. This may seem to clarify the obvious, but the practice is not always observed, sometimes for good reasons of local protocol. Yet it would seem desirable in our work to make references personal. Our prospects are not merely subscribing to a magazine. If they enroll, they will be engaged in their own education over a period of some time, and it would be well to make it easy

for them to become familiar with places and people, not only with their instructors, but with departmental offices and their inhabitants.

Which lists should be put on plates? Presumably practice varies widely, but direct mail authorities recommend that no names be put on plates unless the list is to be used at least six or eight times, and within a period of two, or at most three, years. If used less frequently, the expense of cleaning the list because of undeliverables usually outweighs the economies of maintaining the list on plates. If the list is used that often, as most school catalog lists would be, then cleaning the list after each mailing makes it, in effect, a permanent one. That is, we may assume continued value from a list that, like a list of former students and inquirers to whom the catalog is sent, consists of a most promising group of prospects.

Where should lists be kept? Physically, that is. Assuming that addressing, stuffing, posting, etc., will be done by mailing houses, many lists may best be stored at those locations or at some office location near the university's post office. But if at all possible, not in the promotion office. If local space problems make this necessary, then the mailing section should be separated so that it takes on a distinct character as a related but not an overlapping promotion function. If everything is hodge-podge, the promotion office settles into the frame of mind of a monotonous mailing function, while the mailing people lose their sense of individuality. Nobody benefits.

Nor should we try to clean lists ourselves. This job, however, requires continuing close supervision of suppliers. It is all too easy, in view of the detail work involved, for their not-too-well-paid employees to make errors. In the long run, our best check is experience and constant contact with the procedures. The good promotion man should be closely attuned to the rhythm of typical patterns of undeliverables on various kinds of lists. One should be aggressive in querying suppliers, not hesitating to make unexpected spot checks on list conditions, returns, etc. To academics this may seem an intrusion on people's working lives, but it is also a morale builder in that it reminds people that we regard what they do as important.

To repeat, commercial services exist to do the bulk of the physical task of mailings. Their charges, at least at this time, are not so high that we should try to "do the job ourselves." No university in the country, let

alone its evening college, is large enough.

The foregoing commentary on the mechanics of mailings and their control by no means exhausts the subject, but details are covered in books recommended in the bibliography. Even the vexatious problem of scheduling mailings (and trying to live up to them) is dealt with. Most of our problems have been anticipated by commentators on commercial use of direct mail.

Graphic Quality

Good printing and art work in mailing pieces may remain a matter of special meaning to extension units. Some schools are far away from centers where good printing and related services are available. But it is the rare evening college promotion man who, with bustle and energy, cannot get a good deal of what he needs.

So far as standards are concerned, he may take lessons from his peers constantly. It is not usually too helpful to model our work on commercial standards. The lonely-feeling administrator of a small program would do well to develop a compact "swipe file" of the best work done in schools throughout the country. He will then be in a better position to work out a consistent, simple layout motif for his mail promotion and live with it for a while. It is not necessary to use color lavishly, or elegant stock, or refinements of the latest in typography. Often it is not wise to do so because the simplest of letters accompanying a modest folder will be more appropriate to the accepted image of the evening college.

Let mailing pieces be neat and tidy typographically, and then it is more to the point, with limited resources, to pay attention to the mechanics of getting those simple pieces into the mail on time to good lists. To do that well does not require the expansive resources of a graphics center.

Measuring Mailing Effectiveness

How can we get a closer measure of the effectiveness of mailing pieces? Of course, the gross count of students is the test. If, this fall, more enroll than last, we tend to assume that some of that improvement derives not only from a population explosion but also from improved promotion. It is always an uneasy assumption. However, we can make simple comparative evaluations. From year to year we can measure the relative

pulling power of different mailing pieces done for the same program, using different lists, etc. Even here we are on uncertain ground, but if we simply count return coupons we will have some indication year after year as to relative value of mailing pieces and lists.

An almost unbreakable rule is that no mailing piece should be sent without an enrollment blank or fill-in form for further information. There would appear to be year after year a close relation between the proportion of total registrations received in the mail and the grand total of students. If a day-by-day count before classes begin in a given term is kept, it is possible from that record, at least in large programs, to predict with some accuracy what the total registration will be well before the count-down is complete. Schools that encourage enrollment by mail must, of course, be quite clear in their presentation of information about advanced classes requiring prior consultation. A history of coupon returns becomes more valuable over the years.

Postage Rates

We cannot leave the question of mailing without mentioning the matter of postal rates and the problem of mail classification. Postal rules and regulations regarding mail classification are available for the asking and are discussed in extenso in several recommended books. One point: if our publications conform to second class mail regulations as bulletins, we can take advantage of the cheaper second class rate. This remains an "iffy" question. While many of our folders can be made into paginated brochures to conform to the minimum standard, some mailings will suffer:

- (1) To some extent, of course, recipients pay less attention to second class mail;
- (2) Late printing may delay the mailing schedule which, with typically slower delivery of second class mail, is disastrous for us as we gear the mailing to enrollment periods;
- (3) Restrictions on cover and coupon may be troublesome in a few cases;
- (4) No enclosures can accompany the bulletin mailed second class;

- (5) Addressing must be done in accordance with Post Office regulations.

Yet certainly if large-scale mailing is intended, particularly of the school catalog, it should be included in the parent university's schedule of periodical bulletins. The relatively few mailed with letters can be posted first or third class. The remaining quantity can be posted at a fraction of the rate even for third class—at least to the presumably large list of inquirers and former students. While in general we may share the professional direct mail expert's opinion that a "package" including letter, piece, "order form" (our equivalent—enrollment blank) and postage-free return envelope should be included in a letterhead envelope, our relations with a community audience make it possible, even plausible, to mail the school catalog and a few of the larger program pieces without such accompaniment—and even to make them self-mailers—this without loss of face or in enrollment. An occasional opinion might even hold that, if it is well handled graphically, the catalog can become more productive as a self-mailer than in an institutional manila envelope.

These connected remarks so far have dealt with the promotional aspects of audience, commentary on programs, research, and the first and—in our work—probably the central phase of media, direct mail. Now let us take up advertising.

Advertising

One can talk of "promotion" or "public relations" or "advertising" and mean pretty much the same thing. These words are too often used interchangeably; they all seem to be generic. Therefore let us make clear that as we deal with advertising, we will use the word in a limited sense. We will not let it spill over into direct mail (advertising), and we will hardly mention Madison Avenue at all. We will cover the buying of space in newspapers and magazines, with a glance at the buying of time on radio and television and a wink at bus cards, but not even a swipe at outdoor advertising or point-of-sale.

The reason is plain. The order of importance just noted is the order of advertising's importance for extension. Moreover, advertising in terms of budgeted promotion money comes out a relatively poor second best to direct mail. It is an important source of "mail order" list-building and

doubles in brass at registration time to interest people directly in courses.

But there are many situations where advertising just can't be used. A statewide extension division needs to have an elaborate publicity mechanism with well cultivated press relations, but advertising is probably much too complicated and troublesome from the point of view of competition among the newspapers of the whole state. Often the question of public support for the institution makes the entire question politically and practically out of bounds. In those cases, available funds had better be used otherwise.

Small budgets and high space costs should not deter us from an appropriate use of newspaper advertising. Newspaper advertising is part of a desirable image-building effort on the part of the evening college, although it is difficult to assess its value save by the device of keyed coupon inquiry forms and telephone numbers on advertisements. With keyed ads, using telephone and mail coupons to measure, we can begin to make a rough appraisal of the value of the advertising against direct mail for one thing and, over a period of years, against itself on a comparative basis.

What should an inquiry cost? What dollar return should be regarded as acceptable for advertising dollar spent? These questions have to be answered independently by each school in the light of its own experience. Record-keeping is important, so that at the end of a five-year period, decisions can be made on the basis of accumulation of evidence rather than only "off the top of the head."

Large or small ads? Trial and error is probably the only safe answer for a given school. But both, in balance, would seem to be indicated. Experiments by schools with budgets large enough to buy full page advertisements in major newspapers report dollar success but a reluctance to repeat because such an advertisement takes too much from a budget and there is an underlying feeling (research is difficult) that the impact is quick and sudden, but fades because of the inability to repeat. (See Exhibit G.) In effect, more frequent smaller advertisements would be seen by more people and remembered more than a necessarily hit-and-run full page insertion.

What about the special section? Dean Alexander Charters, who undertook such a section (see Exhibit H) in the spring of 1960 for University College, Syracuse University, comments in a letter to the writer as follows:

The History of the United States	\$25.00
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The History of the United States	\$25.00

UNIVERSITY COURSES OPEN TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC FALL 1960



Listed on this page
are some of the
hundreds of courses offered
by the
Division of General Education,
New York University's
school for adults.
You will find
the special courses
or program of study
most interesting to you
fully described
in the Fall 1960 catalog
now available.
Write or telephone.

The History of the United States	\$25.00
The History of the United States	\$25.00
The History of the United States	\$25.00
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The History of the United States	\$25.00

Most classes meet at the Washington Square Center; many are held in the auditorium for the convenience of business people. A television series, "Sunday Seminars," over WGBH Channel 5, presents courses to thousands and thousands of adults. Liberal Arts to Sciences offers classes that cater to your own community. Other cultural adventures are presented at Town Hall, and in the form of residential weekends at the University's hilltop mansion, Gould House, at Audubon-Hudson.

DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND EXTENSION SERVICES

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

1 WASHINGTON SQUARE NORTH, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

REGISTRATION BEGINS SEPTEMBER 12 TO

PROGRAM BEGINS SEPTEMBER 26 TO

For a complete catalog send the coupon below
or telephone YOGAT-LAGOS DAY and other weekdays 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

Spring 7-3131

DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND EXTENSION SERVICES

I am interested in the full 1960 catalog listing of non-degree day and evening courses in the Division of General Education.

☐ Liberal Arts to Sciences ☐ The Testing and Admission Office of General Education

☐ I am interested in your community ☐ Center for Adult Education

☐ Office of General Education ☐ Center for Adult Education

☐ Evening and Saturday ☐ Center for Adult Education

☐ Town Hall ☐ Center for Adult Education

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Exhibit G

This full page advertisement in the New York Times Labor Day, 1960 was a successful experiment of New York University's Division of General Education. Advantageously placed, it broke through the barrier of the disadvantage of advertising on a holiday when the presumption of less readers means that newspapers have few advertising columns. Result: More than 1,000 inquiries traceable to the advertisement, a cost of less than \$2.00 per inquirer, far better than any other space advertising in the same medium. In a period of rising postage rates and production costs, it may become more important for evening colleges to explore all possible avenues to improved list-building by solicitation of inquiry via newspaper advertising.

HELP YOURSELF TO OPPORTUNITY

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

REGISTER WED., JAN. 27 THRU SAT., FEB. 6

Exhibit H

Cover of the eight-page supplement whose results are commented on by Dean Charters of University College, Syracuse University. It had the advantage of an additional color (orange) and helpful illustration.

As a general promotional piece, we feel the section probably paid for itself but as a method of placing a schedule in the hands of prospective students, we are inclined to feel that bulk mailings get much more direct results.

Comparatively few enrollees brought the printed section with them when registering. In previous registrations it was interesting to note how many brought the bulk mailed schedule with them. Looking back at the record for the past several years, we feel that the marginal gain in registration over the spring term registration a year ago is below what might have resulted from heavy bulk mailings throughout the University College area. . . .

As to whether we would do it again, I can only say that at this time we doubt it. It may be that as a prestige piece the supplement is a good one and might pay off if we could add the 200,000 circulation of the Herald-American added to its distribution but we have a strong feeling that direct mail backed up by a newspaper, radio and TV campaign is the best way to induce immediate action.

What appears to emerge from this sort of experience is that a full-page or double-page ad, or special section, can serve well to dramatize the evening college, perhaps on an anniversary occasion, but that it does not seem to be adaptable as a regular activity. It is not native to our promotional patterns and is "too rich for our blood."

Given ads of small dimension, how small? Again, try them on for size and evaluate results. Of course, they should be made part of a campaign, centering on enrollment. Save for correspondence study, which can benefit from advertising placed throughout the year, timing of ads has to be geared to the enrollment periods.⁹

Timing itself is not a cut-and-dried affair. For example, differences of shopping evenings in different localities dictate different insertion days as more or less desirable. In a longer time span, too, audience habits vary. It may, for example, be worth testing early interest by an insert in July.

What Is The Best Space?

What location in the newspaper produces best for the evening college? This question should not be answered too hastily. The development of the traditional kinds of newspaper advertising, and the resulting categories, stem from a long experience. The groups are: institutional, retail, classi-

9. But it might be interesting to see if periodic insertion throughout the year on an established credit program would be productive.

fied and classified display, with subgroups under the last two of travel, entertainment, real estate, employment and education.

Institutional and retail advertising represent the attempt to get at the newspaper reader in the midst of editorial matter. That is why it is spotted throughout the papers; it is a working arrangement for the benefit of advertisers and not in itself a disservice to readers. Classified and classified display are the advertising the newspaper readers look for, so they are kept together. This begins to answer the question about placement. What kind of program is being advertised? Is it one in which a new audience is being sought—people who have not been concerned with education before? If so, then the general appeal is indicated. Space at a premium price may be preferred—the back page of a section, TV page, or the book section, early pages.

If fairly standard wares are being promoted, "regular" credit programs or the regularly scheduled opening of a term, then the education heading (classified or classified display) is the suitable category. The audience will come to comparison-shop. If the advertisement is attractive, so much the better; but it is even more important to have it there, otherwise an important source of student inquiry will have been neglected. This is the traceable effect we seek, inquiries to add to our permanent mailing list. The classified heading, Education, should prove most helpful most of the time. "If you are looking for . . .," you look in the classified section. This is the way newspapers promote readership of classified sections and help both advertisers and readers.

While advertising in good space, perhaps even at a premium rate, is usually helpful for the vigorous non-credit program, that program will also benefit from the classified columns. Local testing and constant restless concern for results will help determine the judgment. "Do it yourself" planning is necessary. Little information has been gathered about educational advertising. From the point of view of revenue, it is relatively unimportant as part of a newspaper's income. Newspapers and their advertising staffs are often conscientious, nevertheless, in their wish to help enterprises like ours. If results are encouraging, after all, we are bound to take more space.

Special Telephones for Ads

Particularly at enrollment time, the institutional switchboard is like-

ly to be jammed with calls. Because a steady "busy" ring will lose us inquirers, it may be helpful to install a separate line for advertising. By keying ads to that number, one also gets as close to a perfect check on telephone results as can be had. The telephone, being temporary, should be limited to purposes of advertising and should not be listed in any other context of promotion.

Visibility of ads is important, and this means some ingenuity—anticipating the opposition, such as it may be—but most particularly calling attention to the school, so that its name remains the most important element remembered by the reader. "White space" is a watchword, but this does not mean that our wish to insert lists of our courses, directory style, should always be denied. Essentially, this is what our potential audience is concerned about—courses. (Note: Help with layout and service in general is more readily gotten from a small rather than a large agency.)

Some schools, as was mentioned a few pages back, have apparently found radio advertising useful. But this does not seem to have been the general experience. Bus cards, too, have been found helpful, and they are reassuring to students and teachers as they affirm the value of the undertaking. This last may seem a small matter, but in many ways it is more important than anything else. It is particularly valuable for the part-time student to have a sense of shared enterprise. Other ways of achieving this will be discussed a few pages hence after dealing briefly with publicity, in itself a useful method of conveying the image of the school to students, as well as for getting them in the first place.

Publicity

The confusion between "publicity" and "public relations" will persist. Let us, at least for now, dismiss the latter and let "publicity" for our purposes simply mean the getting—without charge—of space in print media and time on broadcast media. Discussion will not center on easily rendered information about how to write releases, or handle press conferences, or how to use photographs. The basic texts on publicity mentioned in the bibliography will contain this information many times over. But even without faithfully cramming such information into policy-making heads which do not particularly crave it, there are several points to be made germane to evening college and extension publicity. Here is a

blend of policy points and special matters of technique applicable to our situation and not generally discussed.

Once again, as in promotion generally, and perhaps particularly in the publicizing phase, programming is the vital ingredient. Only if the programs are fresh, vivid and/or important to the adult audience will they have anything like news value. The "or" tucked into the previous sentence covers the particular situation of trade paper publicity even for oft-repeated courses. This is a generally neglected area of evening college promotion. Even schools away from large centers of population and industry can benefit not only from the general kudos value in trade paper publicity, but from something more to the point: If there had not been a presumption of audience for the course or program, meaning potential students in a given local industry, the course would not have been proposed at all. Hence the value of insertion even in a national trade magazine published three thousand miles away. A state extension division setting up a three-day conference in a given industry has even more reason to use trade channels to publicize. This is not always routinely done.

The phrase "or important to the adult audience" also covers the situation of the course in a well-defined area in which newspapers have departments—antiques or home decoration or financial, for example. In such areas, a brief reference in a column may well bring a number of students trooping in to register.

Non-credit programs have built-in newsworthiness in that they constantly feature new courses. Each term these are publicizable as a group. Or the new course can be used to dress up and lead off a standard release about a given subject area. New courses are often useful as the take-off point for feature articles in newspapers or magazines. They should get special treatment.

Books and articles on publicity constantly emphasize the importance of awareness by all members of an organization of what makes news and of working with the publicity staff. The nature of news, of what is novel in the "man bites dog" tradition, clogs the commentaries, but little is said about the rather more difficult and intangible job of creating the atmosphere in which people do in fact respond to situations by telling the publicity office. At first glance it would seem that the variety and non-routinized nature of continuing education would encourage publicity-mind-

edness. In fact, a good deal does get done, but not necessarily as much as could be developed.

Why A Publicity-wise Staff?

Part of the reason is that in the sprawling extension division, the central staff may be out of touch with sentiments, opinions and other pulse-taking aspects of living together. Gossip does not heat up and condense and heat up again as it does in the steam system of campus communication. Extension teachers may hear the gossip, but to whom can they pass it on? Granted that certain administrative problems are reduced, there are ways in which the evening college does not conform to most organizational models, and communication is one of these ways.

This means that the people concerned with getting out publicity have to work harder to pry it loose from where it is. Program administrators have to be told time and time again to get after it, to be self-starters and heckle the promotion man to get the job done, or push the university publicity office, if that is the way in which the local table of organization works. Administrators away from the central location have to be energized to handle their own press relations; but they must let us know what happens.

The particular extension set-up vis-à-vis publicity and communication may well mean accepting somewhat less control over what goes out—dangerous and difficult as that will seem to most university publicity directors—so that stories move, but not always through a central bottleneck. The evening college promotion man may well have to do a good deal of publicity himself, or co-ordinate it for a university office, depending on the local set-up. To make a virtue out of the apparent communications handicap, we should ask people in the field to use their heads.

In effect, the promotion man has really to be the teacher about publicity that his corporate parallel is always supposed to be in the textbooks. In the business situation, of course, control is a primary goal. "Unauthorized information" is anathema. In the university, too, publicity control is important, but largely to be sure that we know at home base what is happening. There are rules about what constitute policy matters and decisions involving judgment, but our administrators, if properly briefed, probably can do a better job than could be done if central control were always a block to publicity. Of course, it is a mistake to carry

this attitude to a careless extreme, but, with good teaching and good will, much more publicity will get printed and broadcast than if everything had to be done by the book.

For some schools, publicity will be much more important than for others. The evening college in the large city—where competition with other news makes it difficult to get newspaper space and, even rarer, time on radio or television—will perhaps not think too much in terms of publicity in the dailies. There is even a serious problem of scheduling standard releases through the central office. Yet the routines are beneficial. Head counts in most schools to determine where students "first heard" about the courses they are taking usually show that publicity (little cost except salaries) produces a fair quota of replies. Perhaps in this field, more than in other promotion fields, we may apply a Doctrine of Benevolent Waste—that is, spread the word widely and generously to all kinds of media.

This does not apply in dealing with the large city dailies where jaded journalists keep the incinerators supplied with baskets full of releases. But large city dailies are by no means the only places to send publicity. Even the schools in large cities are likely to benefit from smaller suburban dailies and weeklies. These latter usually get more closely read than do the big city papers. But there are no automatic rules to follow regarding publicity outlets. Each promotion man has to see things de nouveau and not take anything for granted. It may well be that in certain situations, house magazines are fruitful ground, or mimeographed local newsletters.¹⁰

Our kind of enterprise does not particularly benefit in direct dollar return from the opposite extreme, the article in a national magazine with circulation in the millions. Relatively few of our local audience will read the story, although many may subscribe to the periodical. It is always important to reprint and circulate such articles. They are immensely worthwhile in terms of prestige, both among our own students and in the university community. All are flattered by the attention which, rightly enough,

10. Kenneth Boulding, in The Image (see Appendix) p. 89-90, says sardonically: "... the 'personalized' typewritten or mimeographed sheet apparently exercises greater authority than the printed page. We seem to be reaching the stage where a scribbled note on yellow paper would command the highest authority of all."

they regard as being bestowed indirectly upon them. They are pleased with the evening college and this helps create a good working climate. Call attention to these articles in student papers. Send them to institutional people of importance and to legislators. By the same token, clippings and even releases should be circulated regularly to members of the extension staff and to teachers concerned.

Total university publicity is considerably increased by an active extension unit. There are staples to the output: older people in the classroom and particularly getting degrees in June or being given "golden year" scholarships; the long commute (today, the modern equivalent of the twelve-mile walk to the little red schoolhouse is the airline pilot who travels three thousand miles to attend an extension class once a week); famous lecturers in courses or special events; the out-of-the-way course, quite unlike anything ordinarily given in orthodox credit curricula; the conference story and home town story growing out of the three-day sessions at the campus continuing education center—particularly important for state-wide extension units.

Such units can also publicize their programming of courses or cultural activities throughout the state. While this is useful in the university's public relations, it contributes to a sturdy image of extension, too. But it is not accurate, as is often done by some academics, to characterize the extension division as functioning "merely" to carry on the public relations of the parent institution.

These critics overlook the fact that the programs publicized are wanted and needed by the constituency. They may not be "pure," but they are surely vital. Publicity is not supposed to be an ingredient of the learning process, but it is a considerable function of the administrative machinery of universities, particularly important to those who conceive their roles to be the education of the many rather than the few. There is, however, an indissoluble link between publicity and classroom. It is that publicity in the long run can be no better than the program it represents.

Personal Communication

This picks up a major point of the discussion of audience with which this paper opens and also refers back to the remark—at the beginning of the section on media—that personal communication is an important way of reaching our audience.

And who would deny the obvious? Every PR commentator worth his consultant's fee says the same thing, but he says it hit-and-run and then darts off to concentrate on "massier" media. Perhaps the point is so obvious that nothing more need be said. Oh, yes, "Politeness is good public relations." And frequently the more manipulative features are treated under the heading of "employee relations." But in fact the "personal" touch is window dressing from the point of view of the mass merchandiser. Mass media are essential to the mass marketing of mass-produced goods to members of a mass society. This is the mind set of the commercial publicist, and it is why he has so little to say in detail about personal communication which is, in fact, a part of private relations, not public.

In the last generation we have gone fairly far in the selling of retail goods without the intervention of sales people. Does the human spirit protest? Yes, a bit. Just recently a supermarket chain announced a "Best Checker" award (a mink stole) to an employee. The award had been set up by the PR consultants to the chain, not in the interests of the consuming public, which by this time presumably had become numbed to the impersonality of the "point of purchase" experience, but because the employees felt functionless and faceless in their jobs. Nobody cared, they felt. It is a common enough feeling, as the sociologists have been telling us for some years. The significant increase in delinquency, juvenile and adult, the increase in white collar crime, embezzlement, petty and not-so-petty pilfering by employees, and quantities of other phenomena make a persuasive case that an affluent society is one in which people may be psychologically poverty-stricken.

As a social institution, extension supports human beings. Unlike so many of the other institutions which surround them, the evening college does not contribute to their depersonalization. Quite the contrary. Self-improvement, the raison d'être of continuing education, provides psychological enrichment. By coming to our classrooms people have disaffiliated themselves from the Lonely Crowd.

Does it then begin to be clear how different our concept of personal communication is from that of the commercial publicist? By it in our promotion we make clearer a natural function of extension—of any school, for that matter—namely, the continuing relation of student and teacher over a period of time. In the context of business, the publicist is called upon to contradict the natural commercial desire for "turnover" by

time-consuming personalizing, which is a more basic human need. By and large he tries to compromise by robotized methods.

We do not.

Personal communication is the natural way we do things. It is what we do best, and it is of the very essence of the promotion job to get the idea across to prospective students and to students. Our first and foremost task is to make clear—and this is best done in the variety of face-to-face situations we have available—that the experience of going to school is not a buying one, with or without a sales clerk. We must break down that misleading pattern of expectation.

Non-sophisticates, and even sophisticated college graduates, do not usually make the discovery rapidly. It takes time to realize the difference between buying and learning. To help people understand the distinction, we should use a variety of ways—some promotional, but most not—to complement the basic ongoing experience of going to school. That rhythm itself will be persuasive, but probably not enough.

There is a degree of self-selection among our students. After all, they come to us of their own free will, a "non-captive" audience. But even so, they will need persuasion. We have the persuasion of deeds, rather than words, to offer. First, in admission, in initial counseling conversations, we can begin to make clear to the student that he isn't buying and we are not selling. Here is where "standards" are important, to make sure that people get into the classes in which they belong and are kept out of classes that are not for them. The opportunity for counseling by mature, seasoned advisers should be available throughout the year and should be made known to students. Second—in terms of persuasion through deeds instead of words—registration should be made as painless as possible. Third, there should be active promotion of special events of a social and cultural nature. These may seem a natural part of our programs to us, but not necessarily so to many of our students. Fourth, teachers should be hired who, with due allowance for character differences, are warm human beings in their relations with students. Fifth, a campaign should be conducted among those teachers who need it (conducted individually and not by memorandum) to induce them to shed the attitude of condescension toward adult students. Sixth, absentee students should be communicated with, by teachers and administrators alike, to encourage return. This last is time-consuming but worthwhile.

Where it has been done, it is interesting to note the frequency of the poignant "I didn't know you cared" reply.

The points enumerated are not inclusive, but they may suggest what we want—awareness by our students that they are students, rather than the buyers of a commodity. We are not really interested in them as buyers, and, speaking without sentiment, we are not much interested in them, as the saying goes, "in their own lives." But as students they belong to us and we to them. To the extent that this is clear to them—and to us (meaning here staff and teachers alike)—to that extent we have complemented their classroom learning experience by appropriate confirmation to them that what they are doing is important, not because they paid for it, but because they are doing it.

Staff behavior must be more than making people feel cozy, more than being polite, friendly or reliable, although these are certainly pleasant traits. "He is a human being and attention must be paid," said Willie Loman's wife in Death of a Salesman, and that begins to get at the idea. But we must not vulgarize or sentimentalize our interest. We have a valid professional concern, and we should keep to that.

Part Two

INTERNAL RELATIONS

Style

Although the broader context of promotion was considered to some extent earlier in these pages, technical matters have been the object of attention in the section just concluded. But the whole of evening college promotion is greater than the sum of its parts. They cannot be thought of apart from the intangible effects of tone of voice, of style.

The promotional need of an evening college is not entirely met by concentration on the audience. There is also the intangible of style, which is personal, an emanation, an attitude. Our basic style grows out of what we believe and what we are. It grows out of introspection and self-awareness, and most of all this quality—personality—grows out of the dynamics of our relations within the university, relations of the extension staff with administration and faculty.

What is our professional situation? What kind of education do we believe in? What kind of university do we represent? What are its purposes in teaching, in research? Do we agree with them? Do we share its goals or are we unwilling followers in the train of these ideas? What view of extension do people important to us in the local scene have? Whose values are important to us? Who carries weight with extension deans and directors? What ideas from the surrounding atmosphere are so pervasive as to irradiate staff thinking, perhaps even without their conscious knowledge? Where do our values come from as demonstrated in what we do in programs?

Answers to these questions involve more than a desire to arrive at a neat status appraisal of the evening college and its people. Practically, we cannot do sound external promotion—the getting of students into classrooms—unless we have self-respect. Many deans, directors and staffs of evening colleges accept a second-class status. Those who recognize their plight do not welcome it. But if it is seen as undesirable, it is often re-

garded as inevitable. As a matter of fact, part of the self-image seems sometimes to be that the chains are worn with gloomy satisfaction—"See how badly they treat me, and I don't deserve it, but what can I do?"

Nor is it enough to press doggedly on saying, "Even though we're not appreciated, we're going to do our job." Part of our job is to get credit for what we do. For evening college people it is a positively bad policy to be noble, modest--and overlooked. We will have no opportunity to program imaginatively or to promote our program unless we can command the respect of our colleagues in the university. Therefore, before these remarks on promotion conclude, we must dwell on some aspects of the internal relations of extension divisions. A little later we shall visit at some length with the faculty, but let us first pay our respects to the executive head of the institution.

The President

The president of a university, as of any organization, may be a figure or a figurehead. Strong presidents have had long or short executive careers, weak ones have survived or not, some have been wandervögel. There are all kinds, and they function in a bewildering range of changing milieus. Every extension head has given many hours of thought to the intricacies of administrative and personal relationships on his own campus. Hence, offered here are but the more likely promotional implications consequent upon the president's attitude toward continuing education and our attitudes toward him. How will his point of view affect our internal relations and our dealings with students?

Perhaps the outstanding aspect of the university president's job is that it is impossible, in the same sense that the Presidency of the United States is impossible. The qualities of leadership—intellectual, business, inspirational—plus the methodical housekeeping required, impose an interwoven complex of exhausting demands. If the job requires the hide of a rhinoceros, the incumbent seems also to need the speed and grace of a humming bird. He may have one but very seldom both.

A University presidency cannot be held for long by a self-indulgent man or an incompetent. As an administrative office its conditions are dictated by the increasingly complex nature of American higher education. The presidency of a university is not interchangeable with that of a soap company. The resemblance in executive function is much less significant

than the difference in the nature of the enterprise. Henry Wriston mentions "... the peculiarities of university management, with its extraordinary differences from business."¹ And Robert M. Hutchins has said, "The longer a university administrator administers, the more he is impressed by the peculiarities of his calling."²

Present conditions of American university life appear to be creating a new interest, both within and outside of the academic world, in the president's role, and among many college graduates, perhaps even sympathy for him. Much attention has been focused upon the competitive strain of having simultaneously to raise money and provide intellectual leadership. Obviously the president looks different to trustees, to junior or senior faculty members, to students on and off campus, to crowds who see him armed cap-à-pie on Commencement Day, and to the evening dean and staff. One fact, at least, is clear—that we should treat him as a man rather than as a monument. Whereas the faculty, that unique institution, has the perdurable strength of a thousand years and hence almost a classic form etched by history, the president must be seen as a personality. He is flesh and blood—sometimes bloody after collision with the corporate mass of the faculty.

Because the relationship is with a person, private communication rather than "public relations" is involved in the approach to the ranking institutional administrator. Power-obsessed public relations theory typically deals with such communications situations from the point of view of the superior. It tends to impose a false-hearty, shirt-sleeve democracy upon boss-employee communication, and does not apply to the university in any case. The notions of manipulation usually advised are probably not useful for the president and certainly not possible for a dean.

Communication between president and dean will be most profitable if the latter, at least, understands that a university is a unique institutional form and is not to be comprehended from standard texts on "Business Organization" and "executive communications." We may teach such subjects in our departments of management, but the rules will seldom apply within the university. Moreover, communications between president

1. Henry M. Wriston, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

2. Mr. Hutchins was speaking in the lecture series, The Works of the Mind, April 23, 1946, at the University of Chicago.

and dean cannot be modeled on the experience of other institutions. Any university has its own distinctive history, orientation, traditions, personality, public image; and its special problems will require special answers attuned to those elements.

Given local differences, however, we can examine certain characteristics common to the university president's role wherever he is. For one thing, in the stress on the uniquely difficult problems of the president, it is often forgotten that the position is potentially far more rewarding in human terms than the comparable one in industry. Goals are higher and more challenging to the imagination than the achievement of a magnificent profit statement. The job is more interesting. Wriston remarks about correspondence that the corporation president's mail is almost solely about business, while the college president writes and receives letters about everything.

In significant measure, college and university presidents today have achieved what is still the unachieved dream of responsible men of business: they direct not production lines, but meaningful enterprises of people. Automation, for instance, is irrelevant to a university. The president will never preside over a faculty of computing machines. But the calculated absence of human beings at work would appear to be an important goal of modern business, and this fact has already caused concern to the corporations as its implications are spelled out.

Because of the nature of present-day business, elaborate training is often given to the top echelons of industry. There are few seminars, however, for the small group of men who govern universities. To some extent they learn by observation, but mostly they learn after they get their jobs, just as most of their faculties do. Their function is exceedingly public, and their personalities are important to the role they play. Skills in communication are vital to their performance. They may be or become good listeners themselves, but nevertheless people who communicate with them would be well advised to cultivate content and clarity in conversation and writing.

Each university leader will express his own personality, and to this the extension unit will have to respond. Each dean or director must analyze his own president and make some informed guesses as to his strengths and weaknesses as educator, administrator and human being.

Does he picture himself as being competent? Does he think of himself as having even less time than the little he really has? Does he have educational insight, or is he intent upon housekeeping? Does he like short reports and long conversations? What is his academic specialization, and how many light years has he been away from it? What are his relations with trustees? How decisive a man is he? Is he a superbly confident man—does he hire immediate subordinates of talent who may threaten his position? Can he handle a legislature? What preconceptions does he have about continuing adult education?

This is the order of question that the evening staff must ask, not only about a president newly appointed, but constantly, because the president is a continuing focus of interest. If he cannot evoke this response, then probably the man will not be around long enough to matter. A major part of his role is to dramatize what he believes to be the spirit of the institution. His position may not be pleasing at all times to all the university staff, but this dramatizing part of the leadership role, comparable to that of the elected politician, is essential to his survival.

A practical exercise of endless interest is to assess how long the president will stay in office. There are all sorts of possible personal, intramural and external reasons and strains that might impel him to leave. One thing is clear—that we will pay less attention to him if he is in a situation where he is so hedged in by administrative hurdles that he cannot break out and be his own man. Our response must be to the real power. If this is not lodged in the president's office, it may be exercised by a provost, vice-president or even a trustee. But let us not be over-subtle. In most situations most of the time we will know our man.

Some presidents will be far ahead of us in valuing the work of extension. This is more likely in public institutions where external politics are important. However, the nature and depth of a president's convictions about adult education cannot always be readily assessed. In private institutions, for example, particularly in the East, a president with affirmative attitudes would have a difficult job to overcome general faculty negativism. But these considerations are not as important as putting before the president repeatedly—whatever his attitude—our own picture of the extension role. Hostile or friendly he may be, but we must do what we can. Sometimes merely by repetition (with variety) we will be able through the president to break down a faculty barrier. The president is important

when the extension unit wants to undertake a new program. His directive can set it in motion when it gets caught in the slower machinery of the institution.

By all means keep the president up-to-date on what is happening in extension. Get to him early important information for his publicity machinery, material that he will want to use. Don't flood his office, but make sure that a variety of news and reports on events reaches him, not only directly, but from other sources. Obviously, it is more valuable that people other than one who is self-interested should tell him things. Unexpected compliments from sources he respects outside the institution are particularly useful.

Among the helpful things that can be done is to supply good material about continuing education for presidential speeches. This has two-fold importance. Not only will diverse audiences be given the message, but as the president expresses himself on the subject, he will be likely to become more committed to the idea that such activity is a normal and prideful part of the university image.

The president is a ceremonial adjunct to extension activity as he is to other schools. Yet he should be involved not only to lend academic glamor to events, but also to invite his respect for what we do. He should have opportunity to participate in large meetings, particularly where he can have opportunities to speak to professional groups. He should also be invited occasionally to participate in small but distinguished working groups. If he can feel a sense of contribution to our activity, he will develop a vested interest in the success of adult education as part of the university mission. An occasional speech before the evening college faculty meeting is of value both to him and to them.

The university faculty as a whole will be a constant concern of the president. Extension directors may find a president quite sympathetic to their problems with faculty—that is, problems of gaining good-will, respect and the participation of the daytime, non-evening-school-affiliated faculty. But ironically enough, a man friendly to adult education is likely to have generally liberal ideas academically. If so, he will have problems enough of his own among the academic community without adding to them by being a front man for extension. A president friendly to our work probably needs and should get more help than he can give in return.

But in the event, frequent enough, of little knowledge and less concern about continuing education on the part of the president, a long range plan adapted from the section on the faculty (which follows this section) may be useful.

Presidents, by and large, have their own concerns and like most human beings most of the time, are without passionate conviction about other people's problems. Most of them will be neutral, trying to live up to their own picture of a good university administrator and trying not to be smothered in detail so that they may implement a few significant plans which they cherish. If such plans fit the thinking of extension, so much the better. But we cannot count on it and must take account of what the president does think important.

The average tenure of presidents was recently reported to be eight years instead of the popularly believed four.³ Even so, this means that we must deal frequently with new personalities in top executive positions. And the larger the institution, with its parade of Chancellor, Provost, Academic Vice-President, etc., the more demanding the requirement for efficient communication with the administrative policy-makers. This requirement is never-ending and repetitious and wearing on an evening dean who is likely to have been around for some years longer than the president. But wearing or not, it must be done. For we regard continuing education as a profession, whereas some institutional administrators are likely to think of us either as undifferentiated faculty or even as janitors. As with the faculty, we have with the president the problem of breaking up a stereotype. Yet the task is not impossible. Of course, outside of fiction, it is never completely accomplished and depends upon successive generations of capable people in extension to maintain what has been won. Yet in many universities much has been done to establish continuing education as an indigenous activity.

Gimmicks and superficialities will not win presidents or influence faculties. If anything can, it will be recognition and understanding of the real community of interest we share with our "friends in the family." In issues involving fundamental loyalty to the highest tradition of the university, our attitude is not opposed to theirs.

3. In a study made by William Selden, Executive Secretary of the National Commission on Accrediting, and reported by Fred M. Hechinger in the New York Times, Jan. 16, 1960.

The Faculty

The word "faculty" has overtones going back to the medieval doctors and masters of Oxford and Paris, and many institutions still speak in the antique, impressive style of the "faculty of law" or the "graduate faculties." The image—and self-image—conveyed by the term is primarily one of senior professors of philosophy, of the humanities, of the liberal arts. However, "faculty" is a broad word. It includes the teacher of accounting, the president and his administration, and it includes us. And we are obliged to think of our colleagues not only as they divide into schools and departments, but as a unity of which we are a part.

The professors set the pace. Whitehead says, "The whole art in the organization of a university is the provision of a faculty whose learning is lighted up with imagination."⁴ From our point of view the faculty is the group of utmost consequence, one which we must persuade to be "lighted up with imagination" about us, particularly because the cadre of the evening college is usually not a teaching but an administrative group. Extension instructors, speakers, resource people, are drawn from the university faculty more than from any other single group. Moreover, most evening staffs tend to identify with faculty values because their members typically began academic careers in subject matter disciplines. Joint appointments in another school of an institution and in the evening college remain common practice.

In the dynamics of this slightly incestuous relationship, what the faculty thinks of us we are likely to think of ourselves. We are obliged to take its opinion of our work seriously into account both because its members help us to achieve good programs and because they have power to harm us. Particularly if we seek to establish and maintain clear-cut standards of our own, we must insure good, if not necessarily cordial, relations with the university faculty. The usual view of extension units, of course, is that they cannot be trusted to write their own ticket. For example, here is a typical encyclopedia reference with regard to extension:

... The better institutions place the authority in the hands of the faculty for decisions concerning conditions under which

4. Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education (Mentor edition, 1949), p. 101.

courses are to be taught, the administration of general policies being in the hands of the director.⁵

Several observers have commented upon the "marginality of adult education," meaning specifically that offered by evening colleges and extension divisions. They point out that, however effective in their own right, evening colleges operate a sort of academic black or gray market upon the fringes of their parent institutions. Then, like Job's comforters, these observers recapitulate sins of omission and commission that purportedly explain the shabby reputation of the evening college within the university family. Suggestions are offered of how we may atone, often involving "higher standards" and recommending that we weed out "disreputable" programs.

Some of the recommendations are desirable and necessary enough, but most of them are largely irrelevant to adult instruction. In effect, we rarely get around to considering these criticisms on their merits because we receive them with an acquiescent docility. Perhaps our tendency to be passive when criticized comes from the attraction and prestige of orthodox scholarly publication and membership in the Learned Society, or perhaps from the need to identify with the parent university. But to do the important job well—namely, teaching adults—a confident, assertive drive must be made to get us up off our knees.

Old images never die; they have to be publicly broken. In the case of adult education, this is a matter of some urgency.⁶

This pair of sentences from a recent article on adult education in England spells out a vital need for the American evening college as well. The place to begin is among the university faculty where most extension work is unpeckable in the pecking order. Our first step in promoting respect from a university faculty is to look at them with fresh, candid eyes.

It may be thought presumptuous, but it is nevertheless necessary to pinpoint the attitude of that somewhat loose entity, "the faculty." Carl Becker has been quoted as saying, "A professor is a man who thinks otherwise." Would it be unkind to add ". . . but who mostly does the same?"

5. John Dale Russell, "Colleges and Universities," in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Walter S. Monroe, editor, Macmillan, 1950, p. 245.

6. Raymond Williams, "Going on Learning," New Statesman, May 30, 1959.

True, faculties are composed of many individuals and taken ensemble have quite different intellectual muscle-tone from institution to institution. From our self-interested point of view, some are better-, some worse-disposed, and with varying degrees of power to do us organizational good or ill. But for present purposes we must look at them as a classifiable species. "Medical ethics," Irvin S. Cobb once remarked, "are what doctors do in bunches." So with the professorate.

For practical purposes, we may rely on the generally expressed feeling among evening college deans that, with respect to the faculty as the moving force in a university, our evening college practice and policies are being more criticized now than ever before. Allowing for sensitivity on the matter, this would appear to be true even among larger extension units. At any rate, any group which can put people on the defensive had better be examined carefully. This is not being done. For the most part there is observable among evening personnel a tendency to respond to faculty judgment with expressions of numb kismet or abject nostra culpa. We must shake off this tendency. Difficult as it is to separate ourselves from faculty mores, we must make the effort to change their attitude not only by proving our own educational worth in their eyes, but by persuading them to think of us somewhat as we see ourselves, in our own image.⁷

Is "disdain" the word most appropriate to describe their opinion? Reluctantly we must believe so. Even "dislike" or "disapproval" are not quite accurate, for they acknowledge a sense of equality that many faculty members are unwilling to grant to the evening college. "Indifference" may

7. The following extract shows how profound may be the difficulty of communication with our more insulated colleagues:

"... the departmental organization of the universities means that an individual can satisfy his need for gregariousness within the confines of his own department of specialization. We find, therefore, that the lines of symbolic communication fall almost wholly within departments, and very rarely extend from one department to another. The more this happens, however, the harder it becomes to break through the departmental barriers, because each department develops not only an image of its own but also a language of its own. It is not merely that there are technical terms to be learned, but the same word is used in a different sense in different fields of study, and it is necessary to unlearn the use in one's own field before one can understand others."

Kenneth Boulding, op. cit., p. 137.

be closer, perhaps, as the word reflects the normal faculty preoccupation with departmental affairs and with their own researches. "Disdain," however, expresses a reaction to what appears to be the vulgar bustle of extension activity. It is felt genuinely enough both by the abstracted scholar and by others less secure as an emotion of patrician fastidiousness. "Disdain" also expresses the uneasy feeling about the close relationship extension seems to have to the sprawling field of adult education outside the university. Even so generous a humanist as Howard Mumford Jones lists adult education with other evils: "Today we have the radio, the movies, television, the comic books, various forms of book digests, book clubs, adult education, and other modes of easy intellectual sells."⁸

Such a judgment from Professor Jones seems odd indeed. Would he not exempt the Lowell Institute? Would he not agree with Whitehead that universities "are the chief agencies" for the relation "between all types of (society's) progressive elements, so that the study may influence the market place, and the market place the study?"⁹ In any case, the stereotype evoked is one that makes us wince, and Mr. Jones, we know, is not alone in his automatic classification. But is he right? accurate? well-founded in his opinion? Most of Job's comforters would agree with him and go on to tell us how we might make ourselves worthy.

It is likely, however, that we are not in communication with the faculty on this and related questions. It is not what we do that disturbs them but rather that we do not do enough familiar things. We speak a different language, and the grammar is different, too.

Whose Standards?

The evening college is often criticized by the faculty for failing to meet "standards." But whose standards? Theirs or ours? For the two sets of standards are different and are based upon different conceptions of educational role, each valid but not interchangeable.

The evening college has developed partly in reaction against the idea of specialization as the only path in education, particularly in the education of mature people. It is not mere chance that the phrase "general ed-

8. Howard Mumford Jones, "The Renaissance Man Today," Saturday Review, June 20, 1959.

9. Whitehead, op. cit. p. 103.

ucation" or "general studies" is part of the name of several evening colleges. When an adult wants specialized education of some duration—engineering, for example—he may as well go elsewhere, or occasionally to that specialized program given in the evening presumably under close control of "daytime credit departments." Here he may be let down sharply, we may agree; but in cases where standards actually are lower in evening credit work, a reasonable question exists as to whether the condition may not result from broad faculty irresponsibility about "standards" supposed to be upheld by them.

In non-credit education, although there is a wide range of sophistication as to level of instruction, and although many courses are given which are essentially of postgraduate professional interest to specialists, general education at the popular level is more common. Perhaps a word of explanation is in order: "popular" implies something else than a relaxed pedagogy. It involves the opportunity for adults to learn at many levels of competence.

Such education assumes that some adults will come to us educated or highly trained in one field but novices in another, in which they seek instruction. It assumes that other adults will want credit courses for undergraduate degrees and that, for them, instruction should be geared to the psychology of mature people rather than that of adolescents. Such education takes seriously, but not with automatic obeisance, traditional notions of what constitutes "university level." Our mission is to extend the university outward not downward—our audience does not include illiterates. But at the same time our goal is not to form students but to satisfy with good teaching adults who seriously wish to learn. General education for adults is to be had by taking specific courses. General education in liberal arts colleges, even at its infrequent best, is not precisely that.

By and large, in modern undergraduate and graduate colleges, if instructors may be taken as models, the idea of the generally educated man or woman is largely honored in the breach. Often the evening college is held up by its faculty critics to a standard irrelevant to our enterprise but one which they would do well to maintain in their own Houses of Intellect. We are very well aware of that growing task of non-credit programming, the filling-in of gaps in the imperfect education of adults possessing the bachelor's and higher degrees.

It may be the success of the evening college rather than any question

of "standards" which is truly the cause of faculty concern. For our programming sometimes appears to diminish the work they cherish. The large numbers of adults with college degrees who have returned to the classroom make the faculty uneasy—sometimes justifiably—about their own accomplishment. On the other hand, the faculty may well regard this phenomenon as a compliment. It is up to us to encourage them in this attitude.

In reality, however, we are talking about another kind of education—continuing education—with a purpose different from but quite as valid as that of undergraduate and graduate instruction. The university faculty has a jaded intellectual palate and responds to the idea of the need for continuing education as if it were coarse oatmeal—plebian fare indeed. Perhaps the "learning society" of tomorrow will take little account of their sophistication. Yet as of now we must bring home to university public opinion a fresh realization of our purpose. Not, however, by denying the importance of faculty activity or trying to deny them a share in many phases of our evening programs. We need them. But we must emphasize constantly the distinctive nature of the evening college.

Possibly the evening college cadre seems invisible to the faculty because by and large it does not publish. Few of us are collecting data on business cycles or fruit flies or Christopher Smart. In fact, administrators and workers in extension are engaged in activity not very clear to our campus colleagues. Because they do not understand our purposes and activity, they cannot evaluate our achievement justly. Perhaps a major part of our problem of communication with the faculty is capsulized in the title of a speech by Victor M. Ratner, a communications consultant: How to Interest People in Things They Don't Really Want to Know.¹⁰ The liquidation of an evening college or extension division is a great loss to the community around it, but how often have we seen faculty members taking steps which show them to be unaware of the place a strong and vital evening college has in people's lives?

As has been noted, this indifference and disdain has a powerful depressing effect upon evening college staff morale and upon our programs. How can we make an impression upon such self-absorbed people as the university faculty?

10. Delivered at the 1958 convention of the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Nov. 18, 1958.

Perhaps we have not worked diligently enough to compel them to see us rather than themselves in a dusty mirror. Our ties to our universities have been so close that we have not explored the independence which is also part of a healthy university tradition. We have not moved much past the philosophic formulations of our work of thirty, forty or fifty years ago. We have tended to rely upon a few germinal expressions and to re-use them without thoughtful modification. The democratic vision of extension was linked in the past generation to an over-cautious conception of the faculty's role. For example, listen to Charles Van Hise, distinguished President of the University of Wisconsin, addressing the founding meeting of the NUEA in 1915: ". . . the work of carrying out knowledge to the public is one of enormous magnitude and not inferior in importance or in opportunity to the functions of the university earlier recognized—those of instruction and research."¹¹

"Carrying out knowledge to the people" remains a striking and inspiring phrase. It conveys a sense of a university's multi-faceted extension activity. But the "carriers" seem occasionally to occupy a status somewhat like postmen—important, yes, but menial. The word instruction is the semantic obstacle. Surely President Van Hise could not have meant that "instruction" could only be given on the campus? If so, one wonders what he would think of the work of a county agent or of a teacher of evening grammar classes in Milwaukee. While the exemption is accurate for that part of extension activity of a strictly "carrying" character—film distribution, lecture bureaus, drama circuits and similar services—it was teaching that was important in 1915, and surely it is teaching now which is the most important day-to-day activity of evening colleges and extension divisions.

Is instruction to be reserved only for the prestige function of teaching "regular" university classes? Such fastidious usage seems somewhat strained when it is noted that much of this teaching is done in auditoria seating 300 or 1,500. Moreover, let us be clear: teaching in undergraduate and graduate schools, too, is sometimes endured rather than sought, and faculty club shoptalk does not usually refer to the stimulation of scholarly interchange with young students. Few opinions are voiced that university

11. Quoted by Walton S. Bittner in the article on "Extension Education" in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Walter S. Monroe, editor, Macmillan, 1950, p. 478.

teaching is on a high level in general, and a commitment to teaching parallel to that given to research is not encouraged by current custom. An article by "John Q. Academesis" in the New York Times magazine of February 21, 1960, goes so far as to say, "... to call a person a good teacher in many leading institutions today is more than damnation by faint praise: it has become almost an academic smear."

The Low Status of Teaching in Universities

Again Jacques Barzun in The House of Intellect—though he offers little comfort to the most compliantly virtuous of evening colleges—nevertheless scathingly describes the graduate school:

It would consider itself disgraced if it gave courses in pedagogy or in the history of education. It knows and wants to know nothing of the verified facts about learning, memory and habit; about temperamental differences in verbal and visual powers; about anything that might prepare its graduates for the age-old difficulties in imparting knowledge. It sends out 'masters' and 'doctors' in the humanities—the academic study of literature, music and the plastic arts—who have not an inkling of the psychology of perception—just as if Helmholtz and William James had never lived. And these cripples, many of whom have taught undergraduates while earning a license to teach, are seldom enabled to correct their own patent deficiencies as speakers, writers and judges of work. Though it is upon them as inspirers of the next generation in college that the continuity of scholarship depends, no opportunity exists to tell them of such elementary faults as mumbling, disjointed utterance, and unorganized thought. In short, the graduate school reproduces on a lofty plane the errors of omission chargeable at every stage since the fifth grade.¹²

That this situation is deep-rooted in history is pointed up by Rashdall's comment about the possessors of the higher degrees in theology at Paris some time ago:

By the sixteenth century it appears that doctors of theology merely lectured once a year by way of maintaining their regency. The doctors had developed or degenerated into mere dignitaries, who officiated at disputations, examinations and other meetings of the faculty, while the only real teachers were the bachelors. It may be observed that abuses of this kind prevailed more or less in the higher faculties of all universities in which the masters possessed supreme and irresponsible authority. They were unknown in the student universities [of Italy], in which there can be little doubt that the most efficient teaching of the Middle Ages was to be found.¹³

12. Jacques Barzun, The House of Intellect, Harpers, 1959, p. 131.

13. Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle

Teaching is accepted by the faculty as a necessary evil, an interruption to the research, scholarly endeavor and publication—above all, publication—that build reputation. Let a man be a born teacher and omit to publish, and he will have been born to blush unseen; he will stay an assistant professor for enough years to dry out his enthusiasm in the desert air of no promotion.

If instruction is not welcomed in the context of orthodox daytime curricula, how much less attractive must evening—by tradition "irregular," non-status—instruction appear to the faculty? Which makes our task of influencing them even more difficult—for let us face it: in our evening schools and colleges it is good teaching that we need, and faculty members who would gladly teach. In the light of this situation, our effort to improve the intra-university relations of the evening school takes on a larger dimension, perhaps, than we have so far conceived it to have. A new way of looking at teaching qua teaching, as well as at other aspects of university obligation, must precede any change in the attitude the faculty now holds about evening classes. Not our least important goal in these days of burgeoning enrollment is to help achieve such a new outlook among our colleagues, for the sake of the whole university as well as of our evening programs.

Ours needs to be a self-conscious mission. We must not fall into the trap of speaking of "regular" classes or otherwise reveal unwittingly a wistful yearning for the securer orthodoxies of subject matter specialization. For some people this will come naturally enough. Other—perhaps too many—members of evening college staffs accept as an immutable way of life the second-class citizenship of continuing education. They seem to agree to eat below the salt. Despite resentment, objection and protest, few among us have done effective missionary work with our "daytime" colleagues. This failure occurs not only, as has been said, because we have natural roots among them, but also because the evening college staff, however devoted, has had too little understanding, programmatic or promotional, of the uniqueness of its own activity.

Broad in purpose and realization, such schools are difficult to see whole. Fairly experienced people among us are caught off guard by the multiplicity of extension functions; how can we make it all clear to the

Ages, Oxford, 1936 edition, ed. Powicke & Emden; p. 473.

faculty member? Even if he teaches in the evening, unless we persuade him otherwise, he feels put upon and without reward, as he goes home at 10:00 p.m. not knowing or caring particularly who was teaching what in the classroom next door.

The Faculty View of Extension

In each of our institutions, each evening college cadre has the professional obligation to influence its own faculty group to change its image of the evening college. Let us summarize the faculty viewpoint and then consider a few steps we may take toward modification and change.

First: The faculty sees in extension a diversification, even sprawl, far beyond the realm of legitimate teaching or research, and sees it not as strength, but as a dissipation of effort. They decry the principle of service which even the most cowed and short-staffed evening college struggles to implement. If conservative faculty opinion gives this principle the label "opportunism," examples are unfortunately not lacking upon which to base such a judgment.

Should the evening college therefore limit its enterprise so that it may be less perplexing and irritating to the university faculty? This would be a tactic of accommodation, but it is clearly impossible if we are to be consistent in our purposes. Educational service to a broad community, largely adult, outside the institution is our function. While emphasis varies from institution to institution, service means the popularizing and dissemination to adults of university-level education, supported by complementary cultural enterprises and activities of direct educational help to people at work and leisure. Unfortunately, to the extent that they think about the matter at all, this view offends our institutional peers. The faculty does not see extension as the growing edge of the university, which in turn they do not usually see as needing to grow-in spirit. The central problem we face is their preoccupation with compartmented disciplines.

Second: The faculty feels that the evening college wears borrowed plumes and is arriviste without the grace of being rich. Where are its buildings, its classrooms? Where are its students, who seem to come and go unseen? Where is the evening college faculty? The core of other schools, undergraduate and graduate alike, is . . . faculty. Whether or not they have tangible property, buildings and local endowments, the faculty at least have a vested interest to defend, and a heritage. To the schol-

arly hierarchy in the rest of the university, the extension division appears to be a spidery network of dotted lines on an organization chart.

Well, what other reality may be offered? What should the evening college do to be recognizable and familiar? Get a faculty of its own? This is not readily done. Develop under its own aegis a program of obvious, impeccable orthodoxy? Sometimes this is possible, and it holds promise as a means by which the evening college can acquire its own certified, homogenized faculty and promise of eventual recognition from and fellowship with the academic magnates.

But whatever advantages may be had from such difficult adaptations, becoming like other schools will not help our search for our own identity. Over the long run we must make the entire university faculty sympathetically aware that we are different but equal. We must give them a satisfactory explanation of what happens in extension and get their positive commitment that it is good.

Third: The faculty (and other people, including some who will read these pages) are overwhelmingly persuaded that evening college students are of lower calibre, that admission standards are lower in extension credit programs, that student work in evening courses is at a lower level. If this is often a frivolous charge based on little evidence or none, it must be taken seriously in program policies and administration. And it must be answered with more than the retort that our problems are different and difficult. There is much to be done in this crucial area to satisfy both the academic hierarchy and ourselves about the reality of our standards, their enforcement and the real strength of our credit student group measured against undergraduates in an orthodox daytime program.

As for expecting the faculty to place a high value on studies which may not be counted for degree credit, here the most typical and frequent response is incredulity that any "serious" student would take courses so irregular. Surely "non-credit" students can be seeking only relaxation; otherwise they would want the sanction of credits. (Conveniently the academics forget that "snap course" has long been an undergraduate idiom. Is it possible it still is?) This attitude about non-credit courses is persistent to the extent that faculty members may teach in an evening college program full of intellectual riches, yet remain condescending to the program, the administrators and the students. Happily, a healthy minority

enthusiastically affirm how much more rewarding is the teaching of adults. Yet the stereotype persists.

Several favorable conditions may help us overcome this negative faculty image of the evening college.

First: extension is reluctantly accorded respect for its vigor even by the most hidebound academics.

Second: a large number of "regular" faculty actually do teach in the evening college, and so we, the staff, can get at them often. They are temporarily a captive audience for our message of what we think the role of the university to be in adult education.

Third: the increase in total institutional enrollment, whatever it means for the future of the evening college, will surely produce many psychological changes in the university-wide academic body. Throughout the country faculties will grow, and the tired arteries will be re-ensanguined. Attitudes will become less stiff toward growth and change as part of the university way of life, if only because the professors will be younger and less immersed in the departmental tidal pools. We of extension will have an opportunity to influence the next generation of our colleagues. Indeed, the future of universities in the United States may be as exciting as was the past of Oxford and Paris in the centuries of their true glory.

Fourth: this future will be closely linked to the modern phenomena of mass literacy, leisure, the rise in the demand for culture and the automated society's need for educated people. To the extent that universities retreat from these pressures, they will withdraw from society—not to preserve a spark of learning through a new period of intellectual darkness—but to deprive the hungry sheep who look up and are not fed. It is an internal, in-service role of extension to teach the scholarly magnates of the university how to respond to this demand and to be the main channel to meet it.

Some Principles Useful in Faculty Relations

Because the faculty is so intimate a public for us, it is the most difficult for us to influence. Hence a brief list of principles may be in order, to guide us in the detailed relationship. With apologies for unavoidable sententiousness, here they are:

1. Deal with the faculty as with a small community. Conver-

sations and face-to-face communication are more important than large, impersonal messages about mission.

2. Repeat your message. Do not assume that people understand merely because they have heard the story once. Repeat—but repeat with variations—so that the exercise in technique will prevent boredom for you as well as the audience.
3. Make respect, not affection, the goal. This may seem a bit austere. The faculty is usually capable of "liking" extension—if it behaves—but in the offhand way that one may be fond of a large pet, a St. Bernard. Our goal is recognition of a different sort.
4. Be clear of purpose. A sense of distinctive educational mission will enable us to present a sharper image of our work to the faculty. Such explicit statements of purpose will also help us to distinguish between the faculty as an audience for our message and ourselves. "Feedback," under such conditions will be really that, identifiable response from other people, rather than a self-conducted internal debate.
5. Promotion—here meaning the deliberate attempt to persuade the university faculty of the value and distinctiveness of our activity—is not merely something tacked on to our work. Promotion is part of the ongoing professional obligation of the extension cadre. It must be conceived of in terms of day-to-day attitudes and relations, as a part of a working life, not a short-range "crash program" to seduce the faculty into temporary affability. All promotional activities must grow naturally out of the real people and programs of the evening college.

The listing above is not large enough to encompass every aspect of relationship with the faculty. It is not intended to do so. The implausible public relations doctrine of permanent amiability has been deliberately avoided as well as the notion of permeating every relationship with market psychology. As has been noted in connection with students, the "new profession of adjustment," to use Edward Bernays' phrase, may not be

as helpful for us as presumably it is in commercial fields. The university world is concerned with ideas, not sales, and we are aware that some of the best ideas and most durable results in human affairs are produced by controversy, not by acquiescence.

A Program for Persuasion

Practical suggestions for promoting the understanding and participation of faculty grow out of the principles just enunciated and the preceding discussion. What follows is not intended to be an all-inclusive survey. The ideas, however, are embedded in programs. They are the promotional outgrowth of program planning familiar to every evening staff.

1. Use distinguished teachers. All reaches of university opinion will respond with respect for the evening college when it regularly sponsors courses by people of reputation and achievement both in the academic and non-academic world. Visiting professors in all fields and visiting artists, writers and musicians should be invited for semestral or annual periods, or as participants in intensive shorter programs.

The installation of a Distinguished Professors Series, as was done at University College, University of Chicago, some years ago, has the value of adding an extra dimension of appeal and at the same time of using people already on campus. Generally, however, it is easier, if more costly, to establish an annual professorate for an off-campus luminary each year. Thus Jascha Heifetz in the past year conducted master courses under the auspices of the Extension Division of UCLA. New York University's Division of General Education has had such a Distinguished Visiting Professors Series, including appointments to Herbert J. Muller, Walter Starkie and Louis Kronenberger. Opportunities exist, too, for appointments of distinction among professors emeriti.

Let all these people be teachers, not "one-shot" lecturers. Even if no other extension appointments are within local permission, these visiting teachers of distinction should be appointed with appropriate visiting rank within the evening college. It is desirable that each such distinguished visitor teach at least one popular course and one seminar limited to advanced students. If possible, appropriate faculty members should be invited to participate in the seminar. Too few extension units have so far developed visiting professorships at this level. It need hardly be pointed out that the broadest spread of publicity is appropriate to such appointments.

This kind of programming has double value in that it solicits faculty respect at the same time it promotes enrollment and a general reputation for intellectual vitality.

2. Supervision of instruction. Evening colleges are usually awkward in response to attacks on the quality of their work. Our spokesmen tend to fumble either by a premature acknowledgment of negligence or by a defence elaborately invoking "the philosophy of adult education in universities," "democratic values of continuing education," etc., etc. This defense can begin to be persuasive only if the local situation is beyond reproach by our own high standards.

The general reputation of evening colleges for second-rate performance contributes so importantly to the image of "marginality" that it is fruitless at present to make a general defense of classwork, admissions policies and grading. This is said not to agree with the hearsay of faculty opinion, but to point out the difficulty of persuading them to think otherwise in view of their stereotype. The most productive response to the criticism is through specific, tedious, long-range local actions. The whole climate of opinion on a thousand campuses cannot change overnight, but it will in time if each evening or extension staff seeks to influence local members of its individual university faculty. "Influence" does not mean politicking or doorbell-ringing. The most expedient method is one which a self-respecting evening college tries to observe in any case, and, with the added motive of improved faculty relations, might consider even more to the point. It is simply classroom supervision.

Administrative patterns vary, but there is opportunity even when the evening college is just "minding the shop" for day departments to insist upon good classroom performance by instructors. If departments or committees of the university faculty devise curricula and have power to appoint instructors, we should make sure that they live up to their responsibilities and do not handle them nominally. This may be a difficult task of diplomacy. But surely if instructional assignment is in the control of department chairmen, they should be held to account for the quality of instruction provided. Academic courtesy and academic freedom can both be perfectly well respected even when, although it is rarely done, a supervisor visits a classroom to make sure that a junior instructor can teach. Such supervision should be asserted as the authority and the responsibility of the evening staff.

In fact, much faculty hostility to teaching adults in the evening results frequently from a sense of professional inadequacy about all teaching. A confident yet diplomatic approach to teachers, both those chosen by us or assigned to us, can do much to improve the classroom level as well as overall faculty relations. Indifference, overconfidence, underconfidence, no sense of variety or pace, lack of clarity or even preparation—whatever the inadequacies of experience or ignorance of method on the part of an individual instructor—the way to deal with him is individually as our teacher, however temporary. He is to be made to feel responsible to the administration of the evening college for the quality of his performance. By paying closer attention to the teaching in our classes we can do much over a period of time to raise faculty opinion of "standards" and raise student performance in reality through better teaching.

In most universities, classroom visiting and later critique are neglected educational responsibilities. The unexamined explanation most often given is that administrators have become necessarily preoccupied with non-educational aspects of administration—budgeting, space problems, fund raising, labor policy. But the real reason is that most faculties today are not organized to pay professional attention to teaching. Whatever is done is largely a result of individual effort rather than organized institutional commitment. For instance, there is little attempt at an apprenticeship system, an easy one to establish within the departmental structure of higher education.

With such neglect throughout the university, special virtue will accrue to the evening college from the installation of a system to help its part-time instructors teach better. Adult divisions that have done so even in part can affirm that instructors, if sometimes surprised by observation and comment, generally welcome the interest shown, as it gives them a feeling of connection with an otherwise remote administration. For us, this point is much more crucial than for other schools, which, with their departmentalized staffs, have an already structured community of interest—at least in subject matter, if not in teaching. If a large number of evening colleges were to develop such self-respecting routines over a period of years, the generalized image of standards would rise as the level of teaching rose, and—what is most to the point, promotionally—a feeling would permeate the institutional atmosphere that the evening colleges and extension divisions of the country cared about teaching.

The long-term results in improved reputation and understanding among the faculty would be anticipated by a quick return, in that part-time instructors would know immediately that responsibility was being exercised about standards by clear-cut authority in the evening college. Soon this information would be generally circulated on campus. Systematic supervision offers the shortest way to build a useful combination of professional-personal relationships with many people in the university community who help create the atmosphere that builds respect for the evening college.

3. Communication with the faculty. For all its departmental self-absorptions and multiplicity of schools, the faculty as a whole is the power center of the university. It is, at any rate, if we speak from the point of view of institutions rather than persons—of the relation of the evening college to the university rather than of individual relations. Sociologists have recently directed our attention to centers of power—to people in positions of power inside the social institutions. But universities, unlike business corporations, are not composed of human beings united—if that is the word—by self-interest. The university as a social institution, both for good and ill, has a history and value system that transcends money and personal power. The member of the faculty may respect these latter, but we who deal with him must remember that he is most impressively influenced by the way of thinking that permeates a university. To influence such opinion we must be prepared not merely for personal achievement or failure, but for a lifetime of effort to influence what is in many ways a priesthood to accept part of an apparently heretic faith. Whatever attention the evening college cadre may give to president, trustees or legislature, it must give conscious, continuing and creative care to its relations with the faculty.

It is the whole of the faculty that should be considered as a community to be influenced. Every dean knows instinctively the reality of people in power in his institution. It is all very well to recognize a power center, but then what? We must have a conception of a policy on the basis of which we assert, appease, inform, explain or demur. Given that, our major problem is how to be influential in an almost carelessly individualistic climate of opinion—democratic, but bound by an unwritten constitution going back to Abelard. Where evening colleges are threatened today, it is perhaps largely because the whole faculty was not seen by the evening

staff to be as important as the superficially important persons in it.

All of them should receive periodic communications from the evening college. Catalogs should go to them regularly; at intervals, letters should accompany the catalogs calling attention to courses and programs of particular interest. Evening deans and administrative staff should send marked catalogs and special folders to interested acquaintances on the faculty and to departmental chairmen with personal letters.

An added external promotional benefit to enrollment will accrue from this minimal mailing. An informed and well-disposed faculty is important as a referral source. Academic people are always being asked by their acquaintances or by strangers for "expert" advice about schools and programs of instruction, not only for children, but for adults, too. They should be encouraged to refer inquirers to the adult school. They will feel the better disposed for being able to speak with knowledge about the resources of the extension division.

A compendious handbook for evening college faculty could help to establish in the university a sense of the school's identity and integrity of purpose. Several adult schools in the country have developed such guides, originating largely as a means to help non-academic teachers. But the practice is by no means general and its possibilities far from explored. In addition to routine procedural information about first classes, grades, etc., the handbook can offer practical advice about method, with particular reference to the special problems of teaching adult students.

The handbook provides a good opportunity for natural communication with the faculty. It has interest and value to them, and it provides a vehicle for a message of importance to us. In the normal course of events, all evening college teachers should be asked to acknowledge receipt of the handbook at the same time they confirm their teaching schedules. Care in preparation is not wasted. Such a booklet can all too easily settle down into a routine: present the information in a "canned" way; look formal, cold, institutional, impersonal, easy-not-to-read; be unimpassioned. If such a publication is to be useful, it should be accompanied regularly by a beginning-of-term letter as personal as can be.

Done well, the handbook offers additional opportunity to change negative impressions of adult education held throughout the university. Most of all, it gives a clear impression of the current self-image (or at least

aspiration) of the school. Upon first printing and again upon significant revision, circulation should be made to department chairmen and leading officers of administration, with letters soliciting comment. Then, if the handbook receives sufficient praise, it may be sent out with proper sanction and appropriate modesty to the entire university community.

An annual bibliography has prestige value in faculty communication, as it conveys the sense of dimension and range of interest among our instructors. Entries should be invited from all teachers in the evening college. With a lively group of non-academicians added to people from within the university, the bibliography may be quite extensive. Merely collecting the material for archival and office purposes will help academic morale. The decision to publish should be based upon the number and quality of returns. Distribution should be to one's own part-time faculty and to everybody else in extension, but particularly to department heads and the administrative lists of the university at large.

Junior instructors from the subject matter departments who are teaching in extension will be particularly pleased at having an additional avenue to people important to their careers. The academic community may well be impressed by the literary production of the part-time instructorate drawn from industry and the intellectual community. These non-university groups in turn should get a pleasing sense of participation in the community of scholarship. Beyond all this, publication of such a bibliography provides a unified and distinct image of the adult school in the university at a level familiar to faculty; it makes a "part-time" staff much more than partly visible.

The dean's annual report is another publication for possible distribution (excerpted or digested) to faculty. A carefully executed report is good promotion in many directions, but it should be excerpted with special groups of readers in mind. The excerpts should be short.

Another related way to influence the faculty is by use of the publications they read or respect. Publicity in such journals is much more directly helpful than the typical channels of newspapers and radio. The faculty can be reached by media not always used to the full by evening colleges. Campus newspapers are sometimes neglected, and so are alumni magazines. Good stories for them particularly geared to faculty readers are articles about extension conferences involving faculty, items about imaginative new courses, interviews with distinguished participants in exten-

sion activities. The institutional calendar should be used constantly; if the university publishes a house magazine for faculty and other employees, it too should be used.

Most important are the scholarly journals and the small number of general intellectual magazines—Harper's, the Atlantic, The Reporter, etc.—respected by university people. Favorable articles about the work of particular schools or of extension in general in these latter make valuable publicity, and reprints should be gotten in quantity. By all means, call such articles to the attention of evening instructors and, occasionally, of the faculty in general. Reprints should always contain information of intrinsic value. Only then will the material persuade the faculty of our valuation of our own work.

The evening dean may well write a report not only for the president and trustees, but for his own part-time teaching faculty. This in turn may be usefully excerpted for distribution to the entire faculty—or it may be distributed in its entirety. Such a report can pay tribute to the people who are engaged in "carrying out knowledge to the public." In addition, done on a biennial or even a quadrennial basis, important policy statements may be given meaningful circulation.

In all this, the effective use of language is quite as important as the virtue displayed. "Style," said Whitehead, "is the ultimate morality of the mind," He might have added that such an "ultimate morality" is as demanding and difficult as any other kind.

4. Faculty meetings in the evening college. Attention has already been given to the desirability of dealing with the part-time instructorate as an evening faculty. Whether the primary allegiance of a teacher is non-academic or to another campus school, the evening college usually appoints its own faculty members by letter or contract. Since these people are our faculty, they should be treated as such and faculty meetings should be called periodically. The evening staff can reassure itself that it does in fact have a faculty if it can assemble the group at regular intervals (once a semester or trimester would appear desirable). In such meetings teachers are given a feeling of group identification, and if from time to time the occasions are made important and reportable to the academic community at large, so much the better. Schools that hold regular faculty meetings can attest to their effectiveness at social, professional and promotional levels. A parallel in state extension work is an omnibus conference of all extension work-

ers called together at the home campus, a sort of extension-week-on-the-campus.

5. Faculty and faculty wives as students. We hold, of course, that our work is intended not only for somebody else, but also that we too are candidates for continuing adult education. In some ways, because the core of evening college work has so far been administrative, we are behind our university teaching colleagues in this respect. The faculty are advanced learners in their disciplines and lay learners out of them. The non-credit evening program often has a particular appeal for them and their wives. They should be admitted to classes to the limit of possibility on a tuition remission basis. This is sometimes difficult in larger urban universities, but the effort may be more valuable in them than in the smaller institutions. Let it be "official," even in small programs—the faculty should be required to enroll formally for classes. There are two reasons: first, for institutional records and reports; and second, to establish with them the "regular" quality of such instruction.

Most institutions have local rules of reciprocity between school units. If the evening college is excepted from these rules because of space limitations, the reasons for the failure to welcome faculty and wives to classes should be made clear so that they do not take away a mistaken idea that their hopes have been disappointed by administrative rigidity or stupidity. Everyone involved in the enrollment procedures should have this sort of briefing to meet faculty questions among others. The image of a school is a mosaic, built up not out of some instant-spray, quick-drying "public relations" lacquer, but out of a host of such private, personal conversations.

6. Identifying a tradition. Self-assurance in a proud, professional heritage is a powerful weapon in dealing with a faculty. The professorate, perhaps more than most human beings, responds to the bona fides of venerability. But here adult education is at somewhat of a disadvantage. Its early history had no Herodotus. Nor do the records show anything so helpful as the founding of an extension division at Salamanca or at Paris in, say, the year of grace 1360. Yet the recovery of a tradition is worth an effort. Perhaps one day a broad-minded educational historian may be commissioned to search out a few facts worth salvaging from a dusty corner of some forgotten century. It will be difficult. To some extent the entire history of education is an emulsion and exists in suspension with civilization itself.

Other professions have used their tradition to protect themselves against intrusions by laymen. The self-interested priesthood which preceded medicine preserved its mysteries; and physicians today can protect themselves by vague references to "complications," as well as by esoteric terminology. Lawyers use language as a weapon not only to pursue justice, but also to exclude outsiders and maintain professional solidarity. Education is somewhat different. If a hard road, it is an open one. It is communicative rather than secretive. When its practitioners develop a jargon, the public responds with a displeasure which it can make effective because education as a profession has a built-in democratic modus operandi.

Also, it has never been a clearly defined profession. How much does the university teacher feel he has in common with the kindergarten teacher? There does exist a sense of mutual purpose among teachers up to the division of academic labors by subject matter in the high school. But certainly in college and university, with rare exceptions, the ordinary and useful identification of a professional is in a special field. A man is a sociologist, an economist, a linguist, just as another is a lawyer or a doctor. At the university level, teaching has become almost a secondary profession, even if it is the primary way in which the professional may earn his living.

Precisely here arises the difficulty of making university continuing education clear to our colleagues—and making it respectable. Particularly do the professionals who have become specialists in their own fields find themselves unwilling to admit teachers of adults to even the lower ranks of their prestige-laden guilds. That kind of activity smacks of "practicing without a license." It is too free and easy. Among the group of the educated, and particularly at its conservative core in the university, there is a tradition hostile to education conceived democratically and popularly. This is expressed not only in ill-concealed contempt for teachers of children, but also in a disdain for teachers of adults on anything but a safely orthodox professional level.

The modern faculty will accept the designation scholar gladly; teacher, reluctantly. Our dilemma is that almost all we can offer is teaching, and mostly teaching of an eager lay public. How can we persuade our colleagues to admire us for that? The challenge of popular pedagogy, of being able to talk simply to relatively unsophisticated people, may be welcomed

by the best teachers among them, the most imaginative and self-assured, but not by many others. The bulk of the professorate seem not only to ignore or reject teaching, but to cut themselves off from the larger tradition of education, preferring to devote themselves to publishing little chopped-up bits of scholarship in obscure journals. Naturally, one does not despise all scholarship or call it valueless, and by capillary action some of it will feed the main bloodstream of education. But to let such a single standard govern institutional life is to enfeeble it. Continuing adult education serves—or can—like a tonic or transfusion for the university. Moreover, it is itself not without honor or antiquity.

The tradition of such teaching among adults, however homely, goes back to the dawn of history. But it is difficult to uncover. When we find a man like Socrates, more often than not he is presented to us as a "thinker" rather than as a teacher. The "teachers" of the Golden Age were the Sophists, and everyone knows the kind of people they were!

Coming closer to the antecedents of modern higher education, the medieval faculty was a lecturing group of masters and doctors who usually had published only their lectures. (In fact, publication was regarded as publishing abroad the spoken as much as the written word.) Yet as the faculty today think of this tradition of thirty generations, their preoccupying notion of the university communality is of closeted research.

But tradition has so far been mentioned in ideational rather than organizational terms. When we think of it in organizational terms, we confront an irony whose meaning it is important to grasp, if we are to change the minds of men on American faculties. The irony is this: the extension division, hardly younger than the graduate school as an organizational innovation, is not equal to it in prestige. Can it be only because the tradition of teaching as compared with that of scholarship has won little prestige? We may add the fact, already strongly noted, that evening colleges are almost always without a faculty of their own. But we need some additional explanation to show why, while the arriviste extension division is not part of The Establishment, the arriviste graduate school has seemingly acquired an instant-dip patina of encrusted age.

Parenthetically, let it be noted that this illusion of age in the internal structures of universities is not peculiar to our country. In England, according to Sir Maurice Powicke, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, a similar circumstance may be noted:

The greatest problem of Oxford, a problem first realized in all its complexity in the middle of the last century . . . is the adjustment, in a smooth, friendly co-operation—I should prefer to say organic unity—of the college system which developed from Elizabeth's times to the academic institutions which, in spite of their appearance of a venerable antiquity, have painfully emerged during the last hundred years.¹⁴

But let us also take account of a paradoxical fact—that among the non-educated and even among the non-academic educated community the extension division shares in the common prestige of the university. What becomes clear is that new structures within a university share in its external image rapidly, but can do so internally—perhaps in a generation if the American graduate school may serve as example—only if the new structure does not disturb the appearance that the faculty hold important to be presented to the world.

Unfortunately for its internal position, the evening college contributes constantly to a changing public picture of what may be expected of a university. The evening college appears to put new downgrading demands on the faculty's self-image at the same time it makes more real work for the faculty and influences a great public outside to expect a certain range of popular education from the university. The self-appointed custodians of institutional purity are more than likely to watch bleakly as the evening college staff strive for novelty ("creative programming") and assert the intention of the university to be a dynamic element in the life of the broader community. Nor is their attitude surprising, given their view of the university as a self-contained group of scholars.

The suggestion has been made in many places that we should meet the problem of winning good repute among the faculty by encouraging the teachers in our evening college to undertake research in their special subject matter fields, after the pattern of their daytime colleagues. Also, we have been urged to encourage scholarship about continuing adult education itself as a specialized field. We should do both, but they are not the only things to do, and definitely not the most important. We must be more imaginative.

So far, what has been said may seem like going all around Robin Hood's barn to describe academic snobbery. But it has been necessary to spell it out, for it may show another direction we can take. Before we can change

14. F. M. Powicke, Ways of Medieval Life and Thought, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1951, pp. 222-23.

the faculty mind about the status of extension, we must change the faculty mind about the public function of the university itself. Or, more modestly, we must be a conscious instrument to bring about a change in our colleagues' view of themselves, so that they will see themselves approvingly as teachers, as well as closeted scholars. A blueprint toward this accomplishment would in itself be an important piece of research for university adult education. In this paper, we have the opportunity only to propose teaching as the highest tradition of the university.

The university of the western world has had a continuous history of nearly a thousand years. Uniquely in the field of education, the university has achieved respect, stature and even an upper-class patina. Certainly it is the only level of the educational process that the professorate itself has endowed with prestige and glamor as well as virtue. And perhaps extension has been more a part of university history than the faculty, or we, know.

There are clues that go back to the high middle ages, when the intellectual life blood of all Europe was pumped through its universities, standing at the center of Christendom and sending out popes and cardinals, clerks, inquisitors and heretics. The studia generalia were so called because they were open to all. This may be a distastefully democratic fact for some among the modern faculty, but it is surely germane to the new demands being put on higher education today.

When we get below the pageantry, the Life's-eye-view of history, what were they like, the universities of the middle ages? Listen:

. . . we should not be misled by the compliments of popes and princes, nor by the unblushing demonstrations of academic self-advertisement, into the illusion that the medieval university derived its strength from material endowments and garnered social prestige, remembered in tranquility. It derived its strength from its own turbulent life. It could, if need be, dissolve itself in a week. It could fold its tents and pitch them elsewhere. Its masters met for business in churches; hired rooms in religious houses or private houses for their lectures; its scholars lived in lodgings or licensed halls under the protection of masters. It possessed few books and little money. The young scholars spent money, brought and begged from home, the masters spent their fees, to the profit of householders and shopkeepers; and from a material point of view this was the

chief purpose of a university in the thirteenth century.¹⁵

The picture will be familiar to evening college staffs. Once the entire university had this vitality! Here are tendrils of tradition which may be explored with profit. There was, too, a direct parallel to extension or organization. Speaking of the influence of the mendicant brotherhoods (Dominicans and Franciscans) on the development of scholasticism in the thirteenth century, Powicke says, "Two great centres of intellectual activity were fostered, partly by their own internal energy, partly by papal support and direction. One of them, the university of Paris, was centralized; the other, the system of Dominican schools, was a kind of distributed¹⁶ university, highly organized, pervading the whole order. Much of the more important work of St. Thomas was not lectured and written at Paris at all, but in the Italian studia of his order."¹⁷

In dealing with our colleagues of the faculty, humility—whatever its merits as a religious characteristic—is the wrong tactic. Faculty disdain should be handled with confidence in our tradition, even a confidence bordering on the arrogant. This will serve us better than sweet reason. We need not, for example, scant or overlook our ties to tradition outside the institutional field. The story of adult education needs telling to a faculty which by and large owes its present level of cultivation to fathers and grandfathers who pushed their way up, often as adults, from the ranks of the unlettered. Workers' Education in England, Chautauqua, the Lyceum, Ralph Waldo Emerson on circuit, these are more than quaint phenomena or mere grist for the dissertation mill. These things were part of our country growing up. To put it simply, as Dorothy Canfield Fisher did in 1927, ". . . like everybody else of my age who is interested (either pro or con) in democracy's survival, I always have in the back of my mind the problem of educating everybody."¹⁸ We in continuing education do not have to invent or "start" a tradition. We merely have to uncover and proudly acknowledge what is already there.

Even in so compressed a treatment as this, it should be pointed out

15. Powicke, *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

16. Author's underlining.

17. Powicke, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

18. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Why Stop Learning*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1927, p. vii.

that we have neglected not only the distant past, but also the recent past. For example, this is what is contained about the matter in the 1959-60 catalog of McCoy College of Johns Hopkins University: "it was established in 1947 by consolidation of units of the University that had provided similar education opportunities since 1909, and whose antecedents went back to the earliest years of the University."

At that, McCoy College is telling more about itself than most evening colleges, each of which could develop interesting stories from archives and other sources. Memoirs, biography, recorded conversation with emeritus faculty members who have taught in extension would reveal much. At New York University, Samuel F. B. Morse offered instruction to adults in the early 1840's in photography. One of his students was Matthew Brady. Popular science lectures were offered by Rutgers in 1816.¹⁹

The university and its faculty are not insulated from the rest of a changing society. Was it Heraclitus who said that you cannot step into the same river twice? The faculty image of extension and of the university will change, and we in continuing education can speed that change by making teaching once more a vital part of the faculty commitment.

Neither society nor the university can afford periodic ice-jams in the form of intellectual propositions that outlive their time. An extension division is an institutional lever to help start the flow of learning again. 1961 is a time of change and anticipation in the arts as well as in politics and commerce. The "new criticism" becomes old hat; the startling novelty of abstract expressionism settles down into what is almost an academic staidness. African nations become free both peacefully and violently. The need becomes more acute for continuing education of a booming population in an increasingly mechanized and leisured America and in an awakened and stirring trans-oceanic world. What shall we say is the role of extension? Perhaps it is to carry the torch in advance as the academic procession leaves the platform and moves among the crowd.

Our courses of instruction are to be thought of not only as transmission belts to a great population, but also as a means to put new ideas into circulation in the intellectual climate. For the faculty in particular we can provide an opportunity to advance new ideas in ways which cannot be

19. C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge, Association Press, New York, p. 185.

satisfied through professional societies and journals or even by the exchange of departmental seminars. The non-credit programs of the most interesting continuing adult schools of universities today take their vitality most of all from adventurous faculty people in the liberal arts and sciences teaching newly invented courses. Here we transcend the purpose of promoting good will and respect among a faculty. By giving them an extra dimension for communication, we can in yet another way live up to our role as the growing edge of the university. In the world of the university—which is the world of all the sciences, arts and philosophy—no frontier is ever completely domesticated.

Appendix

RECOMMENDED READING LIST

The foregoing essay has given a minimum of attention to technical matters, arguing that such information could be better obtained from books and other reading as needed. In addition, several books of a general character seem worthwhile to recommend to those concerned with policy questions. There are many titles of a general sociological nature which will be valuable to the evening college administrator, but they will be part of his general professional reading. Therefore the present list is pretty well limited to books of promotional reference, even if indirect. As well as a book list, three other areas are covered: trade magazines, a few to which occasional attention should be paid; directories of possible use in promotion; and bibliographies in promotion and related fields.

What follows is by no means a five-foot-shelf for the promotion man or 15-minutes-a-day to improved policy decisions. It is a modest attempt to suggest reading that the writer and others have found useful, with an occasional reference to the run-of-the-mine material to show relative merit. But by no means should this list be regarded as compendious or as denying merit to others not included. The opinions are the writer's only, and the only certifiable ones are those included, not those of the books left out. In compiling this list, however, well over two hundred books were scanned and some fifty read. For further reference as to titles, the bibliographical subsection below may be helpful.

Books

Barnouw, Erik, Mass Communication—Television, Radio, Film, Press, Rinehart & Company, N. Y., 1956.

Good descriptive roundup of media. It offers a clear picture of business organization, definitions of technical terms and activities in the mass media, and short bibliographies after each major section.

Barton, Roger (editor), Advertising Handbook, Prentice-Hall, N. Y., 1950. Many-chaptered summary of the many topics that make up advertising and its impingement upon related fields. Duplicates some of the

information in the Public Relations Handbook noted below under Lesly, Philip.

Baus, Herbert M., Publicity in Action, Harper's, N. Y., 1954.

A competent and matter-of-fact summary of publicity techniques. Mr. Baus has written other books on publicity. This one or another will give the evening college promotion man or interested colleague all the necessary basic background.

Bernays, Edward L. (editor), The Engineering of Consent, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1955.

Eight chapters by professionals. The chapter on "strategy" in public relations is useful and suggestive, although strategy is a rather overblown word to describe good promotional ideas. The chapter on "Research" (Sherwood Dodge) is also instructive.

Boulding, Kenneth E., The Image, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956.

Pierre Martineau, promotional genius of the Chicago Tribune, said of it, "... undoubtedly the best book on the subject." It is one of the more important books for extension people concerned about internal and external relations to read—and re-read. Boulding writes with elegance and is a clear and original thinker. While the text is not easy going, The Image is in some ways the shortest cut one can take to an understanding of the whole galaxy of new thinking in the study of the transmission of ideas. Of utmost importance is Boulding's compelling approach to the way in which changes in an image precede progress.

Bryson, Lyman (editor), The Communication of Ideas, published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, distributed by Harper's, N. Y., 1948.

Chapter VII by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," is particularly valuable reading for those concerned with the role of adult education in an open society. It deals with the mass communications conditioning of the American audience. Other chapters are of varying direct interest, but many will suggest practical ideas. Chapter X, "Science and Writing," by James Mitchell Clarke, is one of the more balanced expressions of the point of view of the "practical writer"—of special interest to those brought up in the tradition of writing as art and creation.

Harral, Stewart, Patterns of Publicity Copy, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Another competent summary of publicity writing.

Hill, John W., Corporate Public Relations, Harper's, N. Y., 1957.

Worth looking at by those who think "educationists'" language is vague and abstract, while that of business spokesmen is sharp and clear.

Kleppner, Otto, Advertising Procedure, Prentice-Hall, 1950 (4th edition).

This is a practical, inclusive guide to all phases of advertising which has seen dozens of printings since it was first published in 1925. The present edition is up-to-date and clear and direct in its treatment. It is used as a text in many undergraduate classes in advertising. Of

six advertising men consulted, it was first choice of five as a recommended text for adult novices.

Lesly, Philip (editor), Public Relations Handbook, Prentice-Hall, N. Y., 1950.

Worth taking from the library for Chapter 26 (Herbert Baus on "How to Get Publicity."). It is a compendious book of 878 pages, written by a variety of practitioners. Many of the chapters will be helpful to the inexperienced evening college promotion man. Chapter 35 (Paul R. Nelson) offers a concise summary of printing terminology for the non-professional, of just the kind of definitions and simple explanation that will enable him to talk with more authority with suppliers.

Lundborg, Louis B., Public Relations in the Local Community, Harper's, N. Y., 1950.

A title of possible interest to us, but the book does not show up well. It is stripped of personality and contains no case studies or real problems dealt with by industry, which is its only concern.

Mayer, Edward N., Jr., How to Make More Money with Your Direct Mail, Printers' Ink, Pleasantville, N. Y., 1957 (3rd edition).

This book, with that by Robert Stone (see below), is one of the two best on direct mail advertising. It is out of print at present and is probably available only in libraries, although a revised edition is now under way. It is an excellent technical guide, well worth reading through and taking notes from by anyone responsible for the promotion of the evening college. If the dean has time, he might well read this book as a guide to practical details and expectation of performance from his promotion staff. Bad proof-reading is a minor annoyance.

Melcher, Daniel and Nancy Larrick, Printing and Promotion Handbook, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1956 (2nd edition).

Perhaps the most useful general reference book for the promotion man in continuing education. It quite lives up to its subtitle, "How to Plan, Produce and Use Printing, Advertising and Direct Mail." Arranged in encyclopedia style, it provides in simple, non-technical language explanations of processes, typefaces, binding—a great deal of information helpful in dealing with all kinds of routine problems in promotion. Well worth \$7.50.

Mich, Daniel and Richard Eberman, The Technique of the Picture Story, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1945.

A first-rate guide to the creation and editorial treatment of picture stories for magazines and newspapers. One of the best step-by-step "how-to" books yet.

"Pocket Pal," International Paper Company, N. Y., 1960.

One of the best of the commercially sponsored soft-covered (in this case spiral-bound) handbooks. Deals with papers (of course), processes, types of booklets, brochures, etc. Obtainable for fifty cents from the sponsor at 220 E. 42nd Street, New York City.

Ross, Irwin, The Image Merchants, Doubleday, N. Y., 1959.

Sharp comment upon modern public relations punctuated by untouched profiles of PR men now flourishing.

Schoenfeld, Clarence A., The University and Its Publics, Harper's, N. Y., 1954.

A balanced, neutral view of, as the subtitle says, "Approaches to a public relations program for colleges and universities." Some good quotations from many sources. Recognizes the importance of extension in university life—equates it with "service."

Steinberg, Charles S., The Mass Communicators, Harper's, N. Y., 1958.

Rather long book with good small bibliography. Tends to show the preoccupation with mass communication as the basic tool of public relations practitioners.

Stephenson, Howard (editor), Handbook of Public Relations, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1960.

The latest roundup of technical information and comment of the sort noted above in Philip Lesly's Public Relations Handbook.

Stone, Robert, Successful Direct Mail Advertising and Selling, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955.

With Edward N. Mayer, Jr.'s book noted above, this is one of two that the evening college promotion man may consult with profit on the subject and keep on his shelf for ready reference and re-reading.

Wriston, Henry M., Academic Procession—Reflections of a College President, Columbia University Press, 1959.

Required (and lively) reading for all deans and directors. A crisp, confident style supports the author's remarks upon thirty years of experience as top executive of college and university. Henry Wriston has the manner of an old pro, who knows. This is the closest thing to a "how to" book that we are likely to see about the top man. Here is a university president leading a seminar—talking about his work with a clarity, vivacity and boldness rare among his peers.

Periodicals

Several weekly and monthly trade and professional magazines will reward the promotion man upon occasional reading. None seems useful enough to require regular perusal. In addition to the trade press, a few magazines of more general circulation in the business community carry articles which may well germinate ideas for evening college promotion; outstanding among them is the Harvard Business Review. Fortune, too, is occrsionally valuable.

This is as good a place as any to recommend regular reading of advertising columns of the newspapers (the columnists writing about advertising, that is, in the larger city newspapers). They contain important news about changes in postal rates, changes in merchandising direction by major business, up-to-date gimmick ideas—indeed, ideas of all kinds. The Wall Street Journal, also, is worth occasional reading.

Following is a list of trade and professional periodicals with brief comments about the more useful:

Advertising Age - Weekly (Monday), published by: Advertising Publications Inc., 200 East Illinois Street, Chicago 11, Illinois. Subscription: \$3.00.

Advertising Requirements - Monthly, published by: Advertising Publications Inc., 200 East Illinois Street, Chicago 11, Illinois. Subscription: \$3.00.

Art Direction - Monthly, published by: Don Barron, 19 West 44th Street, New York 36, New York. Subscription: \$4.00.

Commercial Art - A new magazine, only a few issues old, but certainly one of the most valuable for artists and art directors. Worth calling to their attention. Monthly, published by: Coyne and Blanchard, Inc., 809 San Antonio Road, Palo Alto, California. Subscription: \$12.00.

Editor and Publisher - Tradepaper of the newspaper field. Included in subscription price is an annual directory to newspapers in the United States and their major editorial staff. Weekly (Saturday), published by: Editor and Publisher Co., Inc., 1475 Broadway, New York 36, New York. Subscription: \$6.50.

Industrial Marketing - Monthly, published by: Advertising Publications Inc., 200 East Illinois Street, Chicago 11, Illinois. Subscription: \$3.00.

Pride - This publication is probably available from the campus public relations office. It should be scanned as it contains information about what collegiate institutions are doing. Monthly, published by: American College Public Relations Association, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Subscription: \$15.00

Printer's Ink - Contains features and many surprising insights and useful ideas for promotion people. Weekly (Friday), published by: Robert T. Lund, 635 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Subscription: \$5.00.

Public Relations Journal - Monthly, published by: Public Relations Society of America Inc., 375 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York. Subscription: \$7.50.

Radio Daily-Television Daily - Subscription includes an Annual Directory of people and organizations, including lists under many categories-network personnel (with locations), lists of local stations and their managers, disc jockeys, etc. Mornings (except Saturday and Sunday), published by: Radio-Television Daily Corporation, 1501 Broadway, New York 18, New York. Subscription: \$15.00.

Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising - Some valuable ideas about mailing problems. Monthly, published by: Henry R. Hoke, Jr., 224 - 7th Street, Garden City, L. I., N. Y. Subscription: \$6.00.

Bibliographies - Lists - Miscellaneous

Bibliographies are contained in several books listed in previous pages. Here are three others, one of considerable extent, and one annotated.

"Public Relations in Print" — a short, annotated bibliography of books in the field, up-to-date (1960). Single copies available upon request to Public Relations Society of America, Inc., 375 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

"A Recommended Direct Mail Library" — a mimeographed book list of over fifty books bearing on direct mail. The list is obtainable from the Direct Mail Advertising Association, Inc., 3 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

"Books for the Advertising and Marketing Man" — The subtitle, "A classified bibliography on advertising, marketing, selling and related subjects," is accurate. While the books are not evaluated, the lists are well-chosen and the classifications helpful and inclusive. The present edition (1957) with an appendix (1958) is available at \$2.50 from the Advertising Federation of America, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

In addition to such material, many business organizations and trade associations distribute material of value for evening college promotion. The Direct Mail Advertising Association (see address above) in particular offers much material both without cost and at a nominal price. The pamphlet, "How to Work with Mailing List Brokers," will be helpful to many. Another pamphlet, "Automatic Addressing" is available to non-members at \$5.00.

Fortune Magazine will send upon request a pamphlet entitled "How to Build a Mailing List." Good in itself, it contains an appendix of considerable value to evening college promotion, consisting of an excellent and quite extensive index of directories on a national basis, with a brief summary of their content.

Directories

There follows a basic list of directories valuable in the publicity field and others of value as "lists of lists."

- (1) Directory of the Nation's Press — Publicity Media Service, 331 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.
- (2) Editor and Publisher Year Book — Editor and Publisher, 1475 Broadway, New York 36, New York.

- (3) The Working Press of the Nation - Directory Division, National Research Bureau, Inc., 415 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.
- (4) N. W. Ayers Directory of Periodicals (also includes magazines and trade publishers), N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.
- (5) Standard Rate and Data (essentially prepared for advertising requirements, but most up-to-date listing of trade publications by trade category), Standard Rate and Data Service, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
- (6) Bacon's Directory of Trade Publications - Standard Rate and Data Service, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.
- (7) Radio Annual and TV Year Book - Radio Daily, 1501 Broadway, New York 36, N. Y.
- (8) Directory of House Organs - Printer's Ink, 205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York (cross-indexed by companies, cities and company publication names).
- (9) Literary Market Place - Publishers Weekly, 62 West 45th Street, New York 36, New York.
- (10) Principal Business Directories for Building Mailing Lists - The Dartnell Corporation, 4660 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois.
- (11) Guide to American Directories for Compiling Mailing Lists - B. Klein and Company, 23 East 22nd Street, New York 10, New York.
- (12) Guide to American Business Directories - Public Affairs Press, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
- (13) U. S. Government Directory of Mailing Lists - Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
- (14) National Associations of the United States - United States Department of Commerce, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
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EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE**

HAROLD TAYLOR

Former President, Sarah Lawrence College

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

President, Florida State University

MARGARET MEAD

*Associate Curator of Ethnology,
American Museum of Natural History*

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INTRODUCTION

The three papers in this volume were commissioned by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults as background material for its eighth annual Leadership Conference, held in Chicago March 10, 1960. Three distinguished Americans were asked to direct their attention to the emergent society of tomorrow and the future potentialities of higher adult education. The papers were meant to be neither placebos nor blueprints. They were requested as, and indeed turned out to be, provocative excursions into a future unknown which would enable the university administrator to examine freshly the form and function of higher adult education in a rapidly changing world. To this task our three authors lent their not inconsiderable talents which stem from diverse backgrounds and disciplines.

Harold Taylor, philosopher, and former President of Sarah Lawrence College, emphasizes the philosophical changes occurring throughout the world, in developed, developing, and grossly underdeveloped regions alike. He argues strenuously for recognizing that we in the United States are in the midst of a great search for a clear, national, liberal, democratic philosophy, consonant with the philosophies and goals of the world society. This concern, he says, will undergird future American education for children and adults alike. The education of the future will be a search for new meanings of contemporary thought in a realistic setting. And this in turn will dictate new relationships between the community (broadly and narrowly conceived) and the college (both undergraduate and adult).

Gordon Blackwell, sociologist, and President of Florida State University, takes a hard realistic look at the social and organizational changes occurring in the contemporary American scene. He focuses primarily on three elements of rapid change with which American education will be faced in the immediate future: the rapid shift from a rural to urban way of life; the development of fused and linear cities; and the general massification of the society. These changes he sees as demanding a rec-

ognition of new kinds of audiences for higher adult education and the development of new kinds of facilities for these audiences.

Arguing from the constructs of the anthropologist, Margaret Mead, Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, deals with the institution of education as currently conceived. She asks us to examine our present attitude toward education throughout the life span with all its compartmentalization and segmentation in terms of subject matter and chronological age. Essentially she suggests as a change a continuing flow of learning and teaching consistent with maturational levels and interests rather than with a procrustean bed of credits used as building blocks to certification. She urges us to seek out new institutional forms for all education, in which adult education plays a necessary role.

The three documents are obviously diverse in outlook and method of analysis. Yet it is precisely this diversity which, in view of the elusive subject matter involved, makes their appearance together in this one volume important.

Peter E. Siegle

Staff Associate
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

Chicago
December, 1960

ADULT EDUCATION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

by

Harold Taylor, Former President,
Sarah Lawrence College

"A revolutionary age," Kierkegaard said in 1846, "is an age of action." Ours is an age of advertisement and publicity. The world which Kierkegaard was describing in that sentence was one which one hundred years ago was breaking its older social patterns without having decided on the nature of the new ones.

Under the influence of a liberal philosophy, the nineteenth century was rebelling against the constraints of a social and cultural order built by rulers whose collective power rested on class, birth and economic position. The institutions of religion, education, the state, private property and private ownership of production were losing their grip on the individual and on the world of the nineteenth century.

It was an age of rebellion and indecision, of ambiguity and revolution, of reflective thought and irrational action—a time, in other words, like every other time.

Kierkegaard goes on to say that "a passionate, tumultuous age will overthrow everything, pull everything down, but a revolutionary age that is at the same time reflective and passionless transforms that expression of strength into a feat of dialectics. It leaves everything standing but cunningly empties it of significance."

I would like to suggest that something of this kind has happened to us in the Western World. Certainly this is a revolutionary age. It has been, since 1848 and before, but we in the Western countries have had our revolutions, while eastern countries either had them more recently or are having them now. It will be a long time before they settle down and come to terms with their culture, their objectives, their passions and their hopes. Even the Russians, who seem so well established and so firm in their convictions, are new to the game, and only now are they

beginning to travel and see what the world is like, the world which their leaders have vowed to conquer. The bragging, the blustering, the threats and the nationalist pride shown by the Soviet rulers are as much a stage in the maturing of their revolution as they are a steady mode of propaganda to achieve world communism.

The tearing down and overthrow of older patterns of life are under way today, and the rebuilding has only begun. We in the United States have accomplished in the short period since our independence a phenomenal set of changes at a speed and of a kind which gave leadership to the whole world. We have made an industrial society the like of which has never been seen, whose methods of production provided a model for every country, including the Soviet Union.

I have been struck recently by the number of times Mr. Khrushchev mentions the fact that he and his country are going to surpass us in our industrial production, that the Russians are going to have everything that we have in the material sense along with a sense of moral integrity which is only possible under communism. He consistently uses the American model and American achievement as the standard by which to judge.

I think our model of a democratic, industrial society is still the model which appeals to the world at large as a satisfactory solution to the problem of building a new industrial society. It is difficult to see a difference, except in theory, between the planning of a democratic socialist society and a democratic capitalist one which believes in public welfare programs. We have accomplished miracles with our system. However, the weakness of the system is something which might be called the problem of multiple leadership.

We are put together in this country, as Robert Oppenheimer has said recently, "in multiple, intense, changing, overlapping communities very close to one another." This is a peculiarly American phenomenon of intermingling classes and intermingling individuals of all kinds whose ethos rests on mutual adaption under an equalitarian impulse. In America, there exists a series of social groups, community groups, and hierarchical groups, through which, if one can use Margaret Mead's phrase, lateral transmission of the culture takes place. But our culture is transmitted in many directions at once, so the same person may be a high member of one small hierarchy and a low member of another one. One can be, for example, President of the PTA to which one belongs and yet be a clerk in a bank. These shifting

roles for the members of American communities create the phenomenon of multiple leadership. Thus, within each of these intense, changing, overlapping, multiple communities of which Robert Oppenheimer speaks, we see leadership arising, but few of these communities are willing to accept the idea of single leadership by any of the others.

This is a quite important aspect of contemporary culture. We have any number of strong, good, organized communities in terms of both our living space and our cultural space, but with leadership so scattered in many areas unwilling to accept one main body of leadership. Accordingly we get too few people who are willing to speak clearly and strongly about personal belief and values; we have a growing number of multiple communities without the strength of single-mindedness and devotion to a common purpose. Yet some form of common leadership and common acceptance of general goals must be achieved if we are to have a society which is going anywhere, a society whose social movement is determined not simply by the equilibrium of a variety of forces, but by the common effort to rally our energies and resources for the achievement of a creative society.

If the phenomenon of multiple leadership is one of the difficulties that prevents us in America from developing clear national goals, another difficulty is the prevalence of the concept of mass man and mass society, a concept which has developed, I believe, from some of the failures in American liberal democracy.

The most powerful statement defining the terms of mass man is that made by Ortega in his Revolt of the Masses. Ortega found that the private world of nineteenth century landowners, aristocrats and leisure classes was invaded by hordes of people who demanded the right to be included in the rewards of a modern, industrial society without having learned the obligations, ethical system and the social customs of that private world. It was as if they were breaking their way into an exclusive club. Ortega was outraged by the attitude of those who demanded rights without obligation. His brilliant generalizations about the nature of mass society have been a dominant part of the thinking of many politicians in the West and many social philosophers in the West and around the world.

Ortega condemned while he defined: the mass man is without character, without individuality. He wants to take everything and give nothing in return. He is swayed by unreason and by a form of total greed for the ben-

efits of a modern, industrial society. He wants thrilling movies. He wants food handed to him. He wants wages without toil, honor without effort. He swarms on the beaches. In fact, Ortega laments, modern mass man makes of the whole world one vast Coney Island, destroying privacy and older concepts of culture.

Ortega's attitude toward mass man has been reflected in our attitude toward politics and democracy over these past ten years: the heavy reliance on opinion polls; the effort to find out what will be accepted before anyone says anything; the curious situation of the editors of mass magazines, anxiously watching readers through market research to see what it is they think, so that the magazines can reflect this, while the readers are sitting back watching what the magazines say, to find out what they should think about the same problem.

I contend that this concept of the mass man is fallacious and is a creation of philosophers and writers who have accepted a dialectical view of history in which social forces carry us forward in ways over which we have no control.

I have found that many students in American colleges today, without being determinists or dialecticians themselves, have accepted the notion that our whole country is in the grip of a set of forces which they as young people can't control and which their leaders show no inclination to try to control. This, in my judgment, accounts for a good deal of the apathy of the young when they face the problems of war and peace and the problems of governing a huge democratic society. Those who believe in the concept of mass man think that all we can do is to protest as the currents carry us over the fall, all we can do is to shout as we go down to disaster.

That there are currents of history and social forces larger than any individuals who compose world society is undeniable, but the Hegelian way of thinking that such forces have their own objectives, that they rise to the status of independent entities and are thus uncontrollable by individual will and effort, is a way which leads to disaster for democratic social planning.

There are masses of people in Asia who know nothing about the West, and whose lives are controlled in an absolute sense by the social customs and material conditions of their existence. But before we settle on a theory of mass man which accepts the inevitability of their thought and action, we

need to examine what happened in Russia to a mass society, controlled under the Czar by very few people, after a small group of radicals put their backs into the job of changing their own society.

In a period of forty years, by a combination of ruthless exploitations and an educational system inspired by a single goal, a few individuals in that society raced through a process of history-making which in previous time would have taken at least two centuries. This was the function of individuals, of Trotsky, of Lenin using the work of Marx, gathering around themselves a number of other individuals who joined together to form a new driving force toward a new society.

The link between education and national goals is direct, and until a society is clear as to its goals, it cannot invoke the energies of its educational system for achieving a new destiny. I submit to you that this is the essential issue in American education: that we are not clear as to the nature of our liberal, democratic philosophy, and that we do not have a national goal which can summon up the energies of those young idealists, and those idealists among teachers, and those educational planners, who are trying to make America both a world leader and a finer place to live.

How to bring the best to everyone is the goal of American society, and if we are to do so, we need to cease thinking of world society and of American culture in terms of mass man.

The particular problem of America, however, lies in the fact that our national goals must be consonant with the goals of the world society, so that the individual in this country can link his own welfare and achievement with people everywhere. We can no longer have here a successful society which is not consciously imbedded in a world order, or one which fails to take account of the needs and interests of others in other countries. Therefore, in our educational system, we require an act of imagination alike among the citizens, the students and the leaders. We must be able to project ourselves into the situation of those living in every part of the world.

This, for example, is why it is so essential that we introduce "non-Western materials" into the curriculum of social science and humanities. Many people have never examined the reasons for doing so. The reason is not entirely the fact that Western culture is parochial, limited by the nar-

rowness of its own traditions, and fails to reflect a world view. Rather, we want, by including non-Western materials among the social sciences and the humanities, to enlarge the imagination of American people, so that we may see ourselves in the roles of other individuals in other countries and so we think in world terms rather than in those of narrow American interests.

I have sought to present a brief sketch of some of our weaknesses and our central social problems as a culture and as a civilization. I would like to turn now to some of the educational questions which come to mind as we look at this kind of society and its future. Implicit in this discussion, is, of course, my own conception of national purpose and my own conviction that educational institutions must contribute both to the establishment and realization of national goals.

I believe that one might make an analogy by contrasting the present stage of American education with that of a country like Indonesia. All the problems we are wrestling with in the United States are being wrestled with by the new countries in many of the same terms and with many of the same difficulties. The Indonesian universities have grown upwards of 1000 per cent just in the past ten years: in Jakarta, the university, which when the Dutch left had about fifty or sixty students, now has ten thousand. The problem of buildings, of fund raising, of finance generally, of manpower, of student life, of building a community of scholars, of a sense of dedication to the new Indonesia, these are all problems which appear in a drastic form for the Indonesians; theirs are more drastic than ours because they haven't anywhere to start. They do not have a body of faculty members who can start the new university, or who can start planning others.

In a similar way this is our problem, except that we have a tradition to go on. We can make new institutions which are based on our older conceptions, but, if what I have said earlier is true, our conceptions are much older than our present needs, and the conceptions which we have of American education no longer fit. I would agree with Margaret Mead that our educational thinking has become obsolete—our society has grown past the kind of educational system which was used to develop this society in the past. To be specific, our present educational system is geared to achieve certain ends, some of which can be achieved better in other ways than by having them in our educational system. That is to say, the long series of

complaints against American education: that it deals with a great many trivialities, that it wastes the high school student's time with helping him adjust to life when he should have learned to do that in many other places before he came to high school, that many of our high schools are too vocational, that the teaching of fly fishing and basketball theory is permitted in some of our large universities—these complaints are directed against the happy-go-lucky tradition in which the aim of the educational program was to give a total kind of experience to young people who would go into a society where the severe demands now being made on them were not being made.

We had a form of hedonism back in the twenties and thirties which, for example, encouraged college football as a spectacle, and supported a concept of the university curriculum which permitted the offering of any subject for which there was some demand. As a result, we did not establish an order of priorities in which there were some first things we wanted done above all in our universities. And at the present time we have allowed the university system to go ahead on the same grounds which it did in the 1920's and '30's without having rearranged our goals, and, therefore, established priorities about what our students should do.

Now let us look at one or two of the mechanical details before we look at the philosophy of education. The academic credit system is a system of bookkeeping devised by a group of educators who developed what was called a Carnegie Unit in which you gave points of credit for having covered certain bodies of material.

Look what a ridiculous conception that has become. It is the dominating piece of machinery controlling a large part of higher education in the United States. That is to say, if one thinks of education as a means of covering certain bodies of material contained in certain text books and lectured about by teachers (these instructional methods still characterize 95 per cent of American higher education), then the achievement of credits becomes the dominant concept of what education is. This is bound to affect the quality of learning and the quality of teaching, so that the combination of lecture, text book, academic credit, objective examination and grade-consciousness gives us the machinery for destroying learning. We need to re-examine this peculiar and out-dated conception of education.

The adult education movement has shown what can be done when one does not have to work within the framework of an academic credit system.

There, for the most part, the voluntary efforts of citizens to educate themselves become a more dominant motive than any held by young people who are simply put through an educational system at a particular period in their lives because this is the age group they belong to, and this is what you do at this age group.

The motivation of most college students is, to a large extent, a matter of speculation, but we can assume that about fifty per cent of the students are willing to learn, are willing to work, do not resist learning actively, but at the same time do not have a specific motivation for being in school or in college. Then you have ten or fifteen per cent who make up a really active group and defy anybody to educate them. This group may produce some of our most interesting students, when we can get at what it is they are fighting. Finally, there are another thirty-five or forty per cent—who are what we call our gifted, or our most able, or our already motivated students—many of whom, by the way, are motivated by the wrong impulse. That is to say, they want to get good grades, do well, have a long list of things to their credit in the college or high school yearbook and be top dogs not for any worthy purpose, but in order to be competitively recognized, popular and to achieve an American external success.

The quality of learning may very well be destroyed in this process. I am suggesting that within this machinery of higher education, with higher education controlling high school education by its emphasis on grades, we are damaging the quality of learning.

Now I think in the future the adult education movement has the enormous benefit of not having to cope to such an extent with this machinery, and I would hope that, as the experimental work of adult education moves forward in the next ten to twenty years, it will not allow itself to be trapped in that academic credit cage. It would be very easy to do so, because often the curriculum-makers for day-time or "regular" college classes, in the protection of academic virtue, insist that if credit is not given, the course can't be worth anything. These day-time people will get us if we are not careful, will trap us into an academic credit system. They may even suggest that in order to be fully educated one must be able to enter a graduate school. In my judgment, the person who prepares for graduate school instead of becoming educated is on the wrong track. It is very important that the notion of learning as a process of achieving academic credit be kept out of the movements of adult education.

Just in passing I might say that the college in which I had the privilege of enjoying 14 years of intense experience and where I learned whatever I know about education, Sarah Lawrence College, began its career by refusing to grant academic awards or give examinations. This caused people to say, "Well of course, this is just a rather silly experiment. It's a dilettante place. It can't possibly be run. It can't be taken seriously."

We have found that, after a certain amount of heavy criticism, in the early years, by graduate schools and by those who felt they had superior academic standards, our students may and do enter the major graduate schools of the country with ease and do better work than many other graduate students because they have been working independently from the time they were freshmen. They know how to learn. It seems to me, therefore, that the major problem is to teach people how to learn, for when you have done that, many of your other educational problems disappear. But it's very difficult to teach people how to learn if the goal you set for them is covering material, passing examinations, and getting grades and academic credit.

In my judgment the university and the college must be in concept a community center. Any modern college must think of its role in the society as answering those moral, political and social questions raised in the community in which it exists. It is not a place where you get credits, where you take courses. It is a center of vital thought which must give to the community the advantage of sharing its intellectual and moral resources.

This means that it is responsible not simply for the 18-to-22 year olds who have graduated from high schools. I see in the next ten to twenty years an enormous possibility for the integration of programs of studies which will take particular age groups—young wives, for example, who can devote themselves to afternoon work in college—and build special programs for them. I can see arising in America a new conception of a college in which the students will work with nursery school children in the arts, where college students will be confronted with children so that they can better understand human nature through contact with these delightful young specimens of human nature in the raw—not in order to become skilled parents, but in order to understand the process by which young children grow, to learn what spontaneous human behavior is like, what kind of object the human being actually is.

These are things which can best be learned by direct relationship with children. There are colleges and universities with nursery schools as integral parts of their program, but too often they are merely experimental centers either for child study or, in women's colleges, for making women into good mothers. This, I think, is a distortion of the role of women in college. They may very well become good mothers, but that is not the reason for having them study the behavior of children.

As far as the other age groups are concerned, there are many things that the university can do in serving as an ideal for the high school student. A relationship among students in college and local high schools should be established, so that selected college students can be tutors and high school students can experience a higher level of learning than that available in their own curriculum.

As far as the adult programs are concerned, these may be arranged, perhaps in collaboration with local industry, to devote entire days or afternoons to a variety of experiences both in research and in academic study: the field is wide open for experimental work by universities, if and when they think of themselves as community centers.

I would like also to remark how the concept of field work in adult education has many future possibilities. Some community studies have already been done by educators and research workers in order to determine what evening colleges should be. People in a given community who are interested in education can learn a great deal through informal research projects supervised by college faculty members. I have seen experiments of this kind work better than any other single mode of instruction in educating the adult community. Using the concept of immediate experience in field work as an essential element in the education of adults, it is possible to begin a course perhaps in the social sciences by an informal survey of some aspect of the community—its political controversies, its segregation problems, its real estate problems, its cultural resources—these are examples of what I have in mind. We have made some experiments of this kind at Sarah Lawrence College by encouraging college students working in the social sciences to collaborate with women in the community who are interested in the improvement of high school education, perhaps by conducting surveys of local situations.

I also believe that the arts are an area of adult education which can and should be developed by universities which consider themselves to be

community centers rather than containers for scholars and intellectuals and those who come to hear them. If the university is a true community center, it must not only provide instruction in the creative arts for the adults and young people who wish to take part in such instruction, but it should also take heed of some of the experiments done at the New School and elsewhere around the country in which creative arts become a central part of the curriculum and people who are not professional writers write poems and novels and short stories, some bad, some good, as a way of becoming directly aware of values in literature which are impossible to understand and to appreciate unless one is oneself absorbed in the art. Similarly there is a great role to be played in evening courses in adult education in the theater arts, in playwriting classes, courses for students who have not thought of engaging in the creative arts but who may enter the field of painting through the theater by making stage designs, or by studying the history of costumes, by acting, or composing music for the theater. In any case, the theater should be an essential element in the total life of the university.

When the creative arts are put into the curriculum of the undergraduate college program, this can and does have a direct effect on the quality of the community life in the university. In those universities where the arts are taken seriously in their practice, rather than in what is called their appreciation, there is a vitality of an esthetic kind which is not to be found in other universities where one studies the arts and their history and their criticism, but does not engage in the creative arts themselves.

It seems to me that the creative arts must be an integral part of the adult education movement of the future and that planning in this area is the responsibility of the educators who are in charge of the programs themselves.

I might say in passing that the whole conception of using the creative arts as a legitimate mode of liberal education has not been accepted by educators in the United States. You may recall that the Harvard Report, which was a very conservative document with a wide influence, specifically said that students were to be allowed to read about the history of the arts but under no conditions could they be given what is called academic credit for creative work of their own. As was the case in co-education, however, they began doing these things without calling them by

their right names, and Archibald MacLeish all along has actually been giving courses in which people receive college credit for writing poetry.

The conception that work in the creative arts is not as legitimate intellectually as is work in physics, chemistry or mathematics is one of the large blocks in the way of future development of educational thinking and planning.

In fact, experience with the arts and the composition of poetry and of music and of novels, at whatever level of esthetic value, are important instruments for intellectual development of students of all ages. We have experimented widely and quite successfully with the use of the arts in the nursery school and the elementary school, but everything seems to stop dead as soon as we get to the high school. Complete paralysis sets in as we move through the undergraduate college to the graduate school.

Now if we think in these terms about education, that is to say, that education is directly related to the political, cultural and social order, and that the intellect is directly related to the body and the emotions, then we are going to have to deal with social and moral and aesthetic and political questions through every aspect of the educational system.

I think the dichotomy between technique and value, and between fact and judgment, has infested our educational thinking to such a degree that when Admiral Rickover makes his suggestions about reforming the high school and the college in order to have more technicians and more scientists who are able to do things like building atomic submarines, he has a wide hearing among educators. Their response is, "Oh, yes, we must stiffen things up and add more academic material," without realizing that that if the Rickover program were successful, you could destroy the chief merit of American democratic education which right from its beginning has insisted upon dealing with the emotional and social education of the child along with his intellectual life.

Now if these methods have gone wrong, if the educational system has not been able to achieve a quality of education in emotional and social terms, by not having done it well enough, that is not to reason, therefore, that our educational system should ignore such questions as critical thinking in politics, or critical thinking on moral matters, or the engagement of the student in the issues of his own society.

This is what would happen if we adopted most of the conservative

suggestions being made for our present system of education. If what I have said about the state of our present society and the direction in which it is moving has any virtue, the adult educator must involve citizens in the issues of contemporary society by insisting that these issues form a large segment of the curriculum he offers to the citizens.

The key question in world society is that of war and peace. I have not seen the significance of this question reflected in the curricula of the social sciences in any of our major universities. In our present studies we have scholarly treatments of problems in the history of international relations. We have in the high schools information about the United Nations. But we have no serious discussion or research in the factors making for peace as against factors making for war.

It seems to me that here is a large area in which adult education can expand and that experiments are possible here in terms of the content of the curriculum which are not possible in the undergraduate programs or in the graduate schools largely because this approach is not considered academically respectable. We still have in many of our universities a hangover of an obsolete educational idea that to teach history honestly one must not discuss anything that happened less than thirty or forty years ago because everything beyond that point becomes confused.

In my own education which took place in Canada and in Great Britain, we weren't allowed to move past 1900—this was back in 1935—on the ground that anything after that got all mixed up with the World War period. And you couldn't study that. It was too recent.

My experience in education leads me to believe that in teaching philosophy, in teaching politics, in teaching any of the social sciences, until we plunge our students into the middle of the social, political and moral issues of the society in which we live, we are not going to engage their attention or their emotional response in a realization of how important these issues are.

I am advocating a progressive philosophy of education, an experimental attitude to education at all age levels, and I am saying that a progressive philosophy is one which deals with contemporary issues in the reality of their setting, one which considers the present status of our foreign relationships with China as a proper topic of study in social science courses and which introduces students to controversial questions

which are still the secret property of the State Department. We introduce such questions into the content of the college curriculum; the evening classes, the adult education movement in general, must take the leadership in making these questions important for the whole community.

Education which does not deal with moral and social questions and which is not deliberately designed to do something about the intellectual development of the citizens in major issues of importance is not going to be effective in a society where a conception of what the issues are is the most important thing that we can teach.

I am suggesting therefore that the role of the university in American society is to enrich the lives of the citizens of all ages by introducing issues, questions, value judgments, knowledge, experience in the creative arts, political controversy, historical fact, and an understanding of the necessities and possibilities of a new society, to students, citizens and the community in which it exists. The university will do so in a new situation in which everything that America does privately within the boundaries of her own country becomes open to international scrutiny and may take on international significance.

If what we do within our university life is known around the world, then this is the place where we can both inject into American society a new sense of urgency and can show to the world that something very important to its future is going on here.

THE UNIVERSITY AND CONTINUING EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE

by

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I generally make it a point not to begin a paper with an apology. I accepted the invitation to participate in this conference, knowing that I would learn a great deal both in advance preparation and in the meeting itself. The idea of looking into a crystal ball and describing continuing higher education in the future appealed to me. However, as I got to work on the paper I came to realize how foolhardy I had been. I have found a wide literature on the subject; in fact, a catalog containing 166 publications between 1945 and 1957 on the role of universities and colleges in liberal adult education in the United States has just been published.¹ This field has been thoroughly ploughed; and, to make matters more difficult for me, each of you has probably contributed to this literature.

Another problem is that in writing on this subject I have found it difficult not to be commonplace. Whether I am giving attention to the social setting of university continuing education in the future or discussing possible new approaches in continuing education, I find that it has all been hashed over by many others. I have concluded that one should do a month of reading on a subject before accepting an invitation to prepare a paper.

However, be that as it may, preparation for this conference has helped me to learn much about the subject and to become even more convinced that my own institution, along with many others, must move forward in this field.

My paper shapes up like this. First I shall mention several basic

* At the time of the Conference Mr. Blackwell was Chancellor of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

1. J. B. Mezirow and Dorothea Berry, The Literature of Liberal Adult Education (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1960).

trends in American society which, it would seem, should have implications for continuing higher education. Then, I shall give attention to the implications of these trends for philosophy and programs of continuing higher education, selecting four areas for special consideration: alumni education, educational guidance for women, continuing education for the aging, and continuing education and community problems.

Social Trends in American Society

Our look at social trends in this country will include population changes in both numbers and age composition, migration, urbanization, developments in mass communications, technological change, rising educational levels, social values, the rapidity of social change, and the place of the individual in society.

From every point of view the most startling recent change in our population is also the most generally recognized. In the past fifteen years there have been rapid increases in the number of people as a result of the upswing in fertility and the continuing successful lowering of the infant death rate. A population of more than 262 million is predicted by 1980.

Whereas we cannot predict with certainty whether the birth rate will remain at its present level or will drop back to its pre-World War II level, we can more confidently forecast a significant increase in the proportion of persons over 65 years of age. From 3 percent in this category in 1850, the proportion increased to 8 percent in 1950, with predictions of 11 percent by 1990. The number over 65 is expected to increase from 14.7 million in 1955 to 31.9 million at the end of the century.² The educational, psychological, social, and leisure needs of aging persons present a challenge to continuing education.

Turning now to the dynamics of population, a generalization which need not be defended is that the population of the United States has always been characterized by high mobility. In our history we have had the long-continuing westward movement, the great streams of immigrants from Europe, and the continual farm to city movement. Only the second of these factors has been of relatively little significance

2. These population predictions are taken from Ronald Freedman, P. K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell, Fertility Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), Ch. II.

during the past three decades. Although the stereotyped conditions of the frontier are no longer with us, the western regions continue to draw people from the longer settled parts of the country. Except in the depth of the depression of the 1930's, the net movement of population from rural areas to cities has continued unabated. For example, from 1920 to 1946 sixteen million more people left farms and went to urban places than migrated to farms.³

It is as though a giant egg beater had been at work in the nation's population. Families and single individuals have been spewed in all directions, with the main streams being from country to city, from South to North, and from East to Far West.

In addition to this relatively long-range migration, population in both urban and non-urban areas has been quite mobile. Movement of families from farm to farm has been frequent, especially in the southern region. Movement from dwelling to dwelling in cities has been high, with the average period of residence in a dwelling being not more than several years. Truly a high proportion of the American people are not anchored to hearth and home in the traditional sense.

One of the most significant results of this mobility has been the rapid urbanization of American society from 1790, when the population was only 5 per cent urban, to today when it is about two-thirds urban. Even the so-called rural South is now almost 50 per cent urban. We may count upon the United States becoming even more highly urbanized in the next several decades. Of course there are wide variations in the degree to which cities predominate; for instance from 92 per cent urban in Rhode Island to 20 per cent urban in Mississippi.

Sociologically speaking, more of the country's population is essentially urban than is so classified by the Census. The 21 per cent who are called "rural non-farm" generally have the social and economic characteristics of urban populations. Furthermore, improvements in transportation and communication have brought almost all rural people relatively close to urban centers and urban ways of life. The farmer's daughter now wears blue jeans not as work clothes but because it is an urban fashion.

3. Robin Williams, American Society (New York: Knopf, 1951), p. 16.

In 1820, 72 per cent of the labor force were agricultural workers; in 1900 it was down to 38 per cent; by 1950 the figure was less than 12 per cent.⁴ This decline in the proportion of the American people engaged in agriculture may be expected to continue slowly during the next several decades.

Along with this trend of population from country to city, with the resultant urbanization, has gone a counter movement. The rapid growth of suburban communities around the larger cities reflects a striving by many families to leave the heart of the cities, perhaps to have some of the advantages of country living. However, these suburbs are essentially urban rather than rural. The rapid growth of the satellite towns, often without adequate planning, has sometimes resulted in social disorganization and social strain. Not infrequently there is a lack of essential services for the rapidly expanding population in these suburban areas. The homogeneity of the suburbs in family composition, social class, and the like affords a rather unique social environment.

We are also seeing the development of a new kind of urbanization in some parts of the country. I refer to so-called fused or linear cities. Such urban agglomerations are stretched out along major transportation arteries and by 1980 will extend for several hundred miles in some instances. We refer to this as a new form of polynucleated metropolitan region. An example is the Piedmont Industrial Crescent in North Carolina. Within this crescent-shaped area, welded together by a network of transportation routes on both land and in the air, as well as by common interests and shared problems, live more than a million people in what we view as an incipient metropolitan region 150 miles in length. Its scores of governmental units, both city and county, are learning the necessity of planning and working together on such matters as water supply, traffic patterns, airport facilities, and the like. This co-operation and joint planning take place not without growing pains. We believe that this kind of decentralized metropolitanism, combining as it does many of the qualities of city and country living, can provide a more healthy way of life, both in planned physical environment and in other essentials of human living, than the older type of metropolitan centers which inevitably have been characterized by urban blight and slums.

4. These figures are from the United States Bureau of the Census.

This new kind of urban development is occurring in other parts of the country as well. The judicious allocation of limited access highways can guide these trends since both the availability of the automobile and the traffic problems growing out of too many automobiles are primary causes of this new pattern of urbanization.

The rapid growth of urban areas presents one of the most serious challenges to American society in the next two decades. One would expect an informed population so to guide this development that problems will be minimized and a desirable environment for human living will result. However the task will be great. Co-ordination between multiple agencies and organizations in complex urban society will be required. The future of the country would seem to be inextricably bound up with the way this urbanization is guided and controlled.

Another trend of significance in American society has been the rapid developments in techniques of mass communications. If further communication developments occur as rapidly in the next 20 years as in the past generation, the effect upon our society will be immense. I believe that we may confidently expect even more rapid developments. The recent introduction of video tape, for example, can have profound effects upon communications, and one hears rumors of many other inventions in the offing.

As a result of our systems of mass communications, C. Wright Mills holds that we have a mass society for several reasons: because the receivers of opinion far outnumber the givers of opinion; because our systems of communications give receivers little or no chance to answer back; because those who have opinions have little chance to make them effective; and because institutionalized values can infiltrate the public.⁵ These thoughts hold significance for continuing higher education.

In other areas also we have had unprecedented development in technology. Business, industry and the professions have all been profoundly affected by technological innovations. Levels of training of people to take their places in the occupational structure have been considerably raised. Labor saving devices and especially automation will increase rapidly the amount of leisure time.

5. C. Wright Mills, "Mass Society and Liberal Education," Notes and Essays, No. 9 (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults, 1954).

Along with these trends in urbanization, mass communications, and technology has come a steadily rising educational level for the majority of the people, and this trend may be expected to continue. By 1980 a rather large proportion of our population will be highly educated and highly effective. We already know that these kinds of people are the best consumers of continuing education.

The value systems of the American people are likewise undergoing change. We take values to mean affectively charged criteria by which goals of human behavior are chosen. Values, then, are preferential interests which people take for granted, which they often hold sacred and inviolable, and for which they sometimes will fight. Values are the core of social institutions, the criteria and mainsprings of behavior and social action which are internalized for the individual and are binding on his personality.

A host of writers have sought to identify and interpret the basic values of American society. Only limited agreement is found among these writers as to which are the more nearly universal values. Rather than attempt our own exposition of what these values seem to be, we would emphasize that values do change, albeit slowly, and that they vary from region to region and from community to community. This fact is of more than passing significance for continuing education. Furthermore, the extent to which the values of a given people are consistent and integrated is of particular concern.

Leighton has pointed out that communities vary in the strength of their resistance to change in values. He identifies three factors which tend to impede this change: homogeneity in the population, consistency between the value systems, and geographical isolation of the community.⁶ In most American communities there has been considerable weakening in all three factors during the present generation. Perhaps more rapid change in values can be predicted for American communities in the future.

Relative to consistency and integration of values, social science has not yet developed concepts and techniques sufficiently precise to provide definitive evidence. While Karl Mannheim, Lawrence K. Frank and others

6. Alexander H. Leighton, The Governing of Men (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945).

have attempted to make the case for societal disintegration in western countries, Robin Williams holds that there is more agreement on value system in American society than is commonly assumed. According to Frank, "Our culture has no unanimity of individual or social aims, no generally accepted sanctions, and no common patterns of ideas or conduct."⁷ Mannheim has stated it this way: "Thus there is nothing in our lives, not even on the level of basic habits such as food, manners, behavior, about which our views are not at variance. . . . It is definitely not good to live in a society whose norms are unsettled and develop in an unsteady way."⁸ Mannheim continues, ". . . the failure of Great Society [is] to re-establish on a larger scale the methods of value adjustment, value assimilation, value reconciliation, and value standardization which were always active in small communities, and which, owing to the limited size of those communities, could do their work spontaneously. . . . Under the changed conditions of Great Society, however, lack of conscious direction of educational issues leads to what has been called 'Education for Chaos.' . . . This guidance can only be given if the integration of the community goes much deeper than is the case at this moment when the forces of disintegration have done their best to undermine tacit consensus and to over-emphasize differences existing in our midst."⁹ Mannheim contrasts this situation with that in Fascist societies, which he abhors, in which value systems are deliberately simplified and molded so as to achieve societal integration. He holds that there must be a middle way between totalitarian regimentation and the complete disintegration of the value systems through extreme laissez-faire policies. What a challenge to continuing higher education!

Lack of consistency, ferment, and signs of disintegration in the values of American society may be due in part to the social changes previously discussed: large scale immigration, internal migration between regions, migration from country to city, rapid population growth, and considerable vertical mobility. There are also many inconsistencies between caste-life practice and professed democratic ideology.

7. Lawrence K. Frank, "Society as the Patient," American Journal of Sociology, XLII (November 1936), p. 339.

8. Karl Mannheim, Diagnosis of Our Time (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 17.

9. Ibid., pp. 114-15.

Although the problem of criteria makes it difficult accurately to measure rates of social change, there is general agreement that change will become even more rapid in the future. Margaret Mead is of the opinion that "change has become so rapid that adjustment cannot be left to the next generation. . . ."¹⁰

And now a word about the individual amidst all these social trends. The individual in any society faces the necessity of charting his own course of development somewhere between putty-like conformity to prescribed cultural norms and legal prescriptions on the one hand and autonomous personal action on the other.¹¹ In American society the pressure for conformity is great, though varying from region to region, from community to community, and among different social strata and groups. Although these pressures are certainly real, our analysis has shown a culture and social structure in considerable ferment and change. The many new social patterns provide a maze of multiple statuses and roles for each individual, and often involve frustrating conflict. His probable mobility adds to the complexities facing him. Changing values in the society make it difficult for him to keep his social moorings. The culture and social structure often do not provide him with sufficiently clear guidelines and high predictability in interpersonal relations. The social situation is often not clearly defined for him. Social adjustment too frequently proves difficult. According to Williams, "If such dissolution of the social pattern involves values central to the person's self-identity, the shattering of stable social expectations seems catastrophic for personality integration."¹² *Anomie* is the term Durkheim has given to this sort of situation in which so many find themselves in American society today. Truly the individual in no way is isolated from the culture and structure of his society.

If individuals, in the course of their lives, frequently find themselves on shifting sand, this is of considerable concern to those in continuing higher education. Colleges and universities must give attention to these problems of social adjustment on the one hand and to the development of individuality and personal integrity on the other. There is also the responsibility for helping to

10. Margaret Mead, "Thinking Ahead: Why is Education Obsolete?" *Harvard Business Review*. XXXVI (November-December 1958), p. 25.

11. David Riesman (in collaboration with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denny), *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), Chap. 12.

12. Robin Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

mold new social patterns within which individuals of the future may work out their adjustment and integrity with higher chances of success.

Implications for Continuing Higher Education

We come now to the implications of these social trends for the university's responsibility in continuing education. It appears likely that the concept of security, so important in contemporary American society, will take on intellectual dimensions by 1980. The right of an individual to opportunities in continuing education will be generally accepted. A fifth freedom will be added to the American credo, freedom from ignorance concerning our rapidly changing civilization.

A philosophy which well might be appropriated for continuing higher education has been stated by John Gardner: "Our educational purposes must be seen in the broader framework of our convictions concerning the worth of the individual and the importance of individual fulfillment . . . what we must reach for is a conception of perpetual self-discovery, perpetual reshaping to realize one's goals, to realize one's best self, to be the person one could be."¹³ This calls for the development of individual integrity as contrasted with anomie. Here we should note Lawrence K. Frank's concept of intellectual or cognitive therapy for adults.

As we consider the possible role of the university in continuing education, we should realize that colleges and universities at present carry only a small part of adult education. We should realize further that the responsibilities and opportunities of a university depend in part upon the nature of its service area (be it community, state, region, or nation) and the extent to which continuing education opportunities are being provided by other institutions. In continuing education, as in other functions, the university should avoid the "omnibus fallacy" and not attempt to be all things to all people.

As already noted, a good many people have written on the university's role in continuing education. While there is certainly not agreement, there also does not seem to be a great deal of disagreement. Some place more emphasis upon applied or vocational education as contrasted with education to achieve self-fulfillment objectives, that is, liberal education.

13. John W. Gardner, "The Servant of All Our Purposes," (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1959), pp. 1-2.

William H. Conley has suggested the following functions for the university in adult education: (1) Provide opportunity for adults to pursue formal education as long as it is beneficial to them; (2) provide for a continuation of education for those who have degrees or who have had at least some college work; (3) meet vocational and professional needs that are in harmony with the university's objectives; (4) develop leaders in adult education; (5) carry on research in adult education.¹⁴

Cyril O. Houle, to select another, has suggested the following central functions of a university in continuing education: (1) Develop and serve mature self-educating leaders who can guide the social change of the future; (2) put the knowledge of its faculty at the service of those who have already developed a strong habit of self-education; (3) study the implications of continuing education for the organization and operation of the whole institution.¹⁵

A. A. Liveright has outlined five types of continuing education activities which he believes a university should undertake:

1. Programs which permit people who have formerly specialized to take planned, sequential programs in general education.
2. Programs of a wide variety in general and liberal education.
3. Extension programs which provide adults with a recurrent opportunity to learn about new research developments affecting their lives and new national and international issues which confront them.
4. Programs in education for public responsibility aimed at the leaders of our society.
5. Arts and cultural programs which will enrich aesthetic experiences and which will lead into activities and interests which will permit older citizens to fulfill themselves after they retire.¹⁶

I believe it should be clear that the traditional patterns of university extension will not be adequate for future needs and opportunities. We shall undoubtedly continue to have the evening college offering credit courses

14. William H. Conley, "The University's Role in Adult Education," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXVI (January 1955), pp. 14-17.

15. Cyril O. Houle, "Education for Adult Leadership," *Adult Education*, VIII (Autumn 1957), pp. 3-17.

16. A. A. Liveright, "A Program of Higher Adult Education for the Late Twentieth Century," elaboration of address at N.U.E.A. Midwest Workshop, Escanaba, Michigan, August 1959, mimeographed, p. 13.

and degrees; we shall have off-campus courses for credit, television credit courses, and the like. In these programs consideration must continue to be given to policies of admission, prerequisites and the like. Undoubtedly we shall continue to develop courses, institutes, and conferences for business, industry, and all kinds of organized groups. Sometimes these will be one-shot affairs, and sometimes they will be of a continuing nature. Programs of a discussion group nature in liberal adult education will undoubtedly become more widespread.

However, one senses the need for a break-away from the more traditional patterns of organization and program. Imagination is needed for the development of new kinds of university administrative or organization which will no longer make extension or continuing education a function viewed as somewhat apart from the other functions of the university. We need new kinds of administrative machinery to enable us to integrate the continuing education function with regular on-campus teaching and with research. Rather than weakening or diluting these basic functions of a university, there is some belief that relating research and teaching faculty to problems and activities in continuing education can have beneficial results. Dean Frank P. Piskor of Syracuse University has referred to the "built-in adolescent bias" of most university teachers and administrators which he believes participation in continuing education will help correct.¹⁷

With the rapidity of research developments in all fields, there is need for some way of bridging the gap between the latest discoveries in research and the interests and needs of adults which should be met through continuing education. The normal channels through which results of research are published in professional periodicals, later translated into textbooks or teaching materials, and eventually used in continuing education results in a time lag which cannot be tolerated in view of the rapidity of current social change.

Generally speaking the interest in continuing education opportunities has been greater than was anticipated when new ideas have been tried. there is indication that this will continue to be true. Bold, imaginative developments will undoubtedly uncover much more latent interest than can now be anticipated.

17. Frank P. Piskor, "Needs and Concerns of Adult Students," in New Directions for Adult Education (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1959), p. 23.

Of the many kinds of continuing education activities which one might mention, I should like to single out only four for brief discussion: Alumni education, educational guidance centers for women, education for elder citizens, and education in relation to problems of community development.

Alumni Education. Perhaps I have chosen to mention alumni education because just two weeks ago we had a most successful experience with an Alumnae Philosophy Seminar. I realize, of course, that alumni education dates from the end of World War I and has been tried with varying success by many institutions.¹⁸ But back to our recent experience. Some 30 alumnae came to the campus for a weekend from points as far distant as 600 miles. Half of them brought their husbands, a factor which seemed to contribute greatly to the success of the program. For about twelve hours over the weekend they listened to lectures from members of the faculty and participated in a great deal of lively discussion. All of them had been good students who had taken some philosophy, but they had majored in various fields as undergraduates. The discussions ranged across philosophy, literature, painting, psychology, psychiatry, politics, the roles of women, and trends in higher education. Two papers were given by alumnae themselves, each already married with children. The enthusiasm with which this educational opportunity was received by both alumnae and their husbands was unexpected. This is one basis for my earlier statement that we are probably underestimating the degree of latent interest which will be found when continuing education opportunities are provided.

We are convinced that successful continuing education with alumni must begin on the campus in the undergraduate program. In fact we are beginning even before the freshman year with a number of academically talented students who have been admitted for next year's freshman class. Forty of these top students came to our campus this past weekend. Here we told them about the kinds of intellectual opportunities which will be theirs in our college. We talked about the many things we are doing for the academically talented student. We believed we might be laying the groundwork for some continuing education perhaps ten or twenty years in the future.

It is essential that members of the faculty become interested in con-

18. Elizabeth W. Durham, "Alumni Education" in Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, ed. Mary L. Ely (New York: Columbia University, 1948), pp. 225-27, 320-25.

tinuing education and take special steps to awaken undergraduate students to the importance of keeping intellectually alive after college. We must inform our students of the kinds of continuing education opportunities which the institution will provide. Many colleges have been working on this matter, but new patterns and more effective techniques undoubtedly can be developed.

Educational Guidance Centers for Women.¹⁹ Women who are 40 years of age today probably finished high school and even college before Pearl Harbor, before atomic energy was harnessed, before rockets were orbited into space. The women of 50 finished high school and perhaps college before the full impact of the great depression, before the New Deal, probably before they had even heard of Hitler. Since these women of 40 or 50 "completed their education," as we are wont to say, momentous times have been upon us.

Furthermore, these women find themselves in a peculiar social environment. Current values of American society stress the intellectual and creative responsibilities of each person in a manner non-specific as to sex. With children off to school and with the freedom from household chores that modern technology has provided her, the adult woman frequently feels a growing restlessness and antipathy toward mental and physical inactivity. She sees about her evidences of an increasing acceptability of women in a wide variety of working roles. Her husband, as well as her employer and other men in society, show signs of accepting this new role of women, and, in fact, frequently are anxious to accept her in partnership in other than home and family concerns. Furthermore, the chances are that she will outlive her husband.

In the face of these aspects of modern society, the woman with more and more time on her hands is often anxious to seek new modes of personal development and social contribution. Inquiries made daily at colleges and universities, the popularity of adult education courses, the continuing invasion of the job market, all attest to the need of women to find ways of becoming and remaining genuinely active and productive. Whether for personal satisfaction, for enhancing employability and productive potential, or for learning to fill better a voluntary community leadership

19. These ideas were developed by J. A. Davis and the writer in connection with work for the Commission on the Education of Women of the American Council on Education.

role, many women have revealed that they see a first step toward self-fulfillment in a return to education.

However, these inquiries concerning continuing education also reveal a number of problems. The need for some intellectual exercise manifests itself, it would seem, as a vague but persistent uneasiness; pathways for easement are not so well-traveled that the woman can easily examine a number of routes, determine where they might lead, and carry through on a choice to follow one or another. In other words, the trails are not so well blazed that they may be followed by many without a guide.

It is also apparent that further formal college course work, though available in evening colleges, is too often tailored to the needs and patterns of younger persons. The colleges, busy finding places and faculty for their expanding enrollment, generally have been a poor resource for aid. Even if the college gave wide publicity to the courses likely to appeal to the older woman, the question of her readiness for return to the classroom may cause her much hesitancy. The need remains for sound estimates of academic ability, for good descriptions of available educational opportunities, and for information concerning the levels of competitiveness in these courses.

Because the man has been the usual vocational breadwinner, educational guidance research and practices have been developed from a largely masculine point of view. Although one may find guidance agencies for other special groups such as the aged, the handicapped, or racial groups, explorations made on behalf of the Commission for the Education of Women have found no counseling or guidance agencies in the country set up exclusively for women. With heavy male caseloads, the existing agencies have had little time to devote to the specialized educational guidance problems presented by women where particular interests engendered by our culture, the more difficult question of productive utilization of education by women, and attitudinal barriers pose unique needs to be served.

If the foregoing postulates are essentially correct and if present educational guidance facilities are not meeting the relatively unique needs of adult women, it would seem that resources devoted exclusively to this problem are needed.

In the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina we are proposing an Educational Guidance Center for Women to provide short-

contact counsel and general informational facilities, built exclusively around the needs of the adult woman, which might aid her in making effective and satisfying choices of further educational experiences. The center would provide women with professional assistance in analyzing their academic aptitudes, skills, and interests, and in finding suitable educational opportunities.

As educational choices may frequently be predicated on vocational problems, the center would also be equipped to provide help to the counselee in relating possible educational programs to her vocational needs. The center would not serve as a vocational advisory or placement agency, however, except as problems in these areas relate to educational decisions. Neither would its functions include personal counseling or therapy. Referral sources would be developed for problems of vocational choice or placement, and for personality problems not amenable to environmental therapy through continuing education.

A secondary but important function of the center would be the discovery and development of opportunities for continuing education within existing institutions which might be profitably opened to women, and ascertaining the value and suitability of such programs for adult women. Follow-up studies of persons placed in various education programs would be conducted as a guide for the counselor and counselee.

These services would be available to adult women 21 years of age and over, without restriction as to educational background or other criteria. The service would be structured as a short-contact type with only two to four contacts per counselee.

Education for the Aging. With an increasing proportion of our population in the age bracket over 65, the next twenty years undoubtedly will see more attention to educational opportunities for these elder citizens. Such programs have appeared largely in the past 12 years.²⁰ Here considerable flexibility in program content and in arrangements will be required. The characteristically limited capacity of older people for the acceptance of new ideas must be recognized. "Relearning" or "unlearning" will be involved for some. Many older people need to keep alive their capacity for feeling through esthetic experiences. Group programs of their

20. Willis H. Reals, "The Education of the Aging in Institutions of Higher Learning," School and Society, LXXIX (June 12, 1954), pp. 177-84.

own selection are preferable to a fixed curriculum of formal content.²¹ There should be more attention to pre-retirement education as preparation for the later years.²² More reliance upon television is indicated. Also more attention to educational counseling services will lead to much more successful programs for this group. More research is needed so that we can come to a better understanding of the psychological aspects of aging.

Continuing Education and Community Problems. The relationship of universities to community development has largely been with small communities in the past. The Cooperative Extension Service, through the land grant colleges, has operated the world's largest adult education program. In the past this program has met urgent needs, and it continues to be effective today. However, as already noted, we are rapidly becoming an urban society. As new community organization patterns emerge and as new modes of urban living develop, there is great need for universities to assist both communities and individuals in meeting rapid change. The challenge is to work out means of making the university as effective in guiding change in complex urban agglomerations as certain institutions have been in working with small communities in the past twenty years.²³ In this connection continuing education must be related closely to technical problems facing local and state government. In looking ahead to this new challenge to continuing education, it is interesting to note that R. H. Tawney in The 1919 Report on adult education in the United Kingdom emphasized the close relationship between adult education and socio-economic change. This pioneering concept set forth forty years ago should receive increasing attention in the future as American society becomes increasingly complex.²⁴

21. Lawrence K. Frank, "Education for Aging," in Education for Later Maturity, ed. Wilma T. Donahue (New York: Whiteside and Morrow, 1955), pp. 1-18.

22. Russell F. W. Smith, "Education for a Lifetime," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXX (January 1957), pp. 216-20.

23. See the following for accounts of how colleges and universities have assisted in community development: E. deS. Brunner, Community Organization and Adult Education (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942); Jess and Jean Ogden, Small Communities in Action (New York: Harper, 1946); Richard Poston, Small Town Renaissance (New York: Harper, 1950).

24. For a contrary opinion see Paul A. McGhee, "Adult Education and Community Action," Adult Education, VI (Winter 1956), pp. 67-81.

And now, in conclusion, a word about physical facilities and the need for research. The university which seriously attempts to provide continuing education opportunities must give thought to physical facilities. Elaborate continuing education centers are now available on a number of university campuses.²⁵ Designed specifically for adult education programs, these facilities have attracted considerable attention. In these buildings it is convenient to gather groups for two- to four-day periods in which the "total immersion" process of education is possible. In such planned facilities use is made of the latest techniques for effective education. Universities which take seriously the responsibility of continuing education must provide the necessary facilities. Rather than separate buildings, thought should be given to combining facilities for this function with other campus buildings. Our plan at the Woman's College, for example, is to join the proposed continuing education center with the student union to make possible the joint use of certain facilities on a site adjacent to the library.

As always, everyone seems to be agreed that there is need for research on adult learning in relation to physical facilities, learning devices, and various types of teaching techniques. In an age of science we should see that research is used to the utmost in making continuing education as effective as possible. John Schwertman has suggested three major problem areas crying for research attention: (1) Adult motivations and the processes of aging and maturing; (2) adaptation of curriculum materials and teaching methods to adult needs; (3) major social trends and their implications for adult education planning.²⁶ And one should recall that in the Brunner survey report to the Adult Education Association one of the few points on which there was general agreement was that there is an urgent need for research in this area to be undertaken by universities.²⁷

25. Continuing Education (Battle Creek, Mich.: W. K. Kellogg Foundation, n.d.)

26. John Schwertman, "I Want Many Lodestars" (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1958), p. 106.

27. Edmund deS. Brunner, "Summary of the Study of the Adult Education Association," Adult Leadership, VIII (December 1959), pp. 176-82.

CONTINUING OUR PRESENT SYSTEM ISN'T ENOUGH

by

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The phrase "continuing education," as it is used in the two papers by Harold Taylor and Gordon Blackwell, sounds new, but it seems to me that it describes a new device rather than a new idea that might lead to a break-through in our present educational system. Both writers plead for more and different specialized kinds of continuing education—education that will link the university with the contemporary problems of the world community, that will support the development of greater individual creativity in older adults, that will meet the special problems of middle-aged women. It seems to me that in these terms "continuing education" simply adds up to more and better of the same; it does not constitute a break-through but simply a well-intentioned expansion of our present ideas.

I believe that it is necessary for us to redefine what we mean by education. And if the redefinition is to be substantial, we shall have to make some quite new distinctions. So, for example, we shall have to distinguish between the kind of education that is related to phases of maturation and the kind that is related to bodies of knowledge and skill. Under the first would come teaching children to be human—to walk, talk, read and write (all those things which, in our society, must be learned by children); teaching adolescents those things which they need to know before they can marry and earn a living; teaching transitional groups, men and women in middle age, new forms of adaptation; and teaching people on the edge of old age how to make the difficult maturational transition to some different form of usefulness and relevance. Under the second would come the bodies of knowledge and skill which individuals need or want to know and do not know at the moment, so graded and organized that the knowledge and skill can be acquired by people at very different stages of development. There would be philosophy which could be taught to six year

olds and philosophy which could be taught to fifty year olds; there would be foreign language teaching for children, foreign language as part of some particular adolescent career line, foreign language for those planning a two-year tour of duty overseas, foreign language for those interested in the Persians. Instead of high school and university courses, which at present are planned as solid and relatively uninterchangeable parts of a system which is still postulated on the assumed nature of adolescent mentality and as necessary preparation for narrowly conceived careers, the curricula would be there to meet the needs for knowledge and skill of many kinds of people at any point in their lives when these needs were felt.

We have somehow to break the mold of thinking that education begins in childhood and then, at some specific point, ends and that anything following on this ending is somehow of a different character. To accomplish this, we need to sort out all the courses in high school and college that are not prerequisites to becoming a functioning human being in a complex society and to treat such courses as elective not for "sophomores" (to make up a proper number of credits) but for people—seventh graders or middle-aged people, fathers or grandmothers—who want to learn whatever the course offers. Young mothers who had missed out on science, for example, might take a special natural history course with their third grade children; parents and children might begin to learn Russian together. Each then might continue at a pace consistent with his own ability and maturational stage.

The creation of such programs immediately raises the question of where we are to get the necessary people to teach in them. Inevitably, we would find ourselves involved in a much wider recruitment of teachers from among those who were also students. Ideally, everyone over five should be teaching as well as learning, for the most casual look at human evolution demonstrates that the essentially human thing about human beings is their ability to teach. Animals can learn. American dogs learned to "hear Hungarian" a few weeks after the Hungarian revolt in 1956. Bees and birds and seals can learn to move through mazes and to follow cues provided by human teachers. But without language, without any ability to see a distant goal, animals make indifferent teachers. Education means not only learning all one's life, but teaching all one's life—teaching what one has learned (how to take off rubbers in nursery

school, how to do long division, or diagram a sentence, or carry out a chemistry experiment, or make a self-survey, or read Milton in a scholarly way, or compose modern jazz, or understand what is going on in Africa). Only a half-century ago many of our present-day leaders taught school for a year or so before going on to study for the law or the ministry or entering politics. We shall always need a corps of highly trained teachers to carry our children, our adolescents, and our specialists through the multitudinous basic skills that they must acquire. We can never hope to have enough good teachers to keep all of life alive with new learning unless we restore teaching to life and so recognize teaching as a possible invaluable avocation as well as a serious and highly professional vocation.

Such a program would place in strategic positions both bright adolescents, eager to test out whether they have learned something well enough to be able to teach it, and just retired people of all sorts, whose experience bridges the knowledge that was new when they were beginners and that just now emerging. If we were not obsessed with the notion of handling all the different kinds of learning like building blocks necessary to a career, we would not need to be so concerned with the certification of teachers irrespective of what their teaching involved. If learning were free, or so close to free that no student felt he had to be guaranteed high proficiency in a teacher, there would be a more natural sifting out of good teachers from among those who pursued teaching as a vocation.

There would, of course, be hazards. Intelligent, questing children and adolescents might skimp their work in the necessary routine courses and wander far afield, as one friend of mine did at Cambridge in the 1930's, to take seven pass degrees instead of one honors degree. This was an unprecedented performance in which he treated the variety of courses as sources of learning rather than as a means of acquiring high academic standing. Naturally inquiring and restless learners might—as somedo today—rove for years without settling on what they wanted to specialize in and then—as sometimes happens now—they would not have the necessary credits. Even today, within our present system, it is imperative that we set up some way in which to regularize individuals at intervals by giving examinations which can be individually prepared for, so that however much a student prefers learning to passing courses he can, at intervals, become respectably accredited as educationally on a

par with some group of career learners. In a more differentiated educational system we would likewise have to protect the future of those individuals who wanted to learn more than some curriculum committee or professional society declared necessary from the dire consequences of their intellectual curiosity. This should not be impossible.

Such a new attitude toward education would restore to our lives the value of wisdom and experience, both so sadly depreciated today. And this in turn would keep our older people intellectually vigorous and young, for just as young children need "experienced persons" to induct them into full humanity, so mature persons need growing, learning, younger creatures to induct them into maturity and ripe old age.

In practical terms, a program of this kind would mean the creation of educational centers in every community where all sorts of teaching and learning went on—centers where young physicists could try out the explication of a new idea with children and where old men and women could share a lifelong hobby of deciphering Maya script, or knowledge of the properties of wood or of the habits of migrating birds with learners of all ages.

I would tackle the question of "credits" by narrowing them down rigorously to those which are necessary for accreditation in a particular career line and by eliminating those which are essentially a way of charging students enough to support the institution. Core courses would then be all those related to the business of living—learning to take care of oneself and others and to participate in a complex world. These core courses would be streamlined so that, instead of resembling meal stretchers guaranteed to fill up a student's time for twelve or sixteen years, they would really teach what they claimed to teach and would be organized to deal, in different ways, with all levels of maturation. The efforts of our academic institutions designed for the training of professional teachers would focus on training teachers—not at the elementary, high school, college and university levels but in relationship to maturational levels—who could really teach career-line subjects well—reading, calculus, historical research, laboratory skills, machine programming. . . . The rest of learning and teaching would then become a matter of delight. Those who had enjoyed learning something would be permitted to enjoy teaching it, and so pass on their knowledge of birds, or Sanskrit, or navigation, or topology to those who needed such knowledge not for their career lines, not for the

business of living but for the art of living as citizens of a free and rapidly changing world culture.

7
NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

39

THE MEANINGS OF WORK

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THE MEANINGS OF WORK

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INTRODUCTION

This paper on the meanings of work was presented at the Eleventh Annual Leadership Conference of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The topic was selected because the meaning of work has emerged as an important consideration in the kind of industrial civilization in which we moderns now find ourselves, and in which there is a much-discussed increase in non-work and leisure time activities.

The topic is a timely one for several reasons. First, we are living in an age when time away from that which we call "work" is apparently increasing as a result of such phenomena as shorter work weeks and technological unemployment. Second, there is a considerably longer life expectancy and consequent increase in the number of persons who are forced to retire and live out a life without jobs. Third, the job today tends to be physically less demanding, hence leaving more energy for "free-time" pursuits.

The trend in thinking about these latter day phenomena has been towards concern with ways to fill up all that leisure time. Yet it seems equally important to comprehend the values in the work one does in order better to understand how work and leisure can combine to provide the personal fulfilment which all education, and most particularly the liberal education of adults, purports to work for. Here we focus on work to see if there are not inherent attitudes, values, and feelings which provide clues to the kind of education which meets the needs of modern man in an industrial society. If work has meanings beyond the simple expedient of earning money for physical necessities and necessary luxuries, then perhaps an understanding of those meanings can help educators concerned with the liberal education of adults gain a clearer perspective on their own tasks vis-à-vis education for work and non-work alike.

To this end, the Center asked Dr. Sidney Levy to present this paper as background for fresh discussion.

The meaning of work can be approached in at least three ways: (1) through historical analysis of changes occurring through time in various

societies; (2) through observation of similarities and differences in meanings among various segments and classes or occupational groups in contemporary society; and (3) through comparison of work with other social phenomena such as leisure, retirement, and unemployment. Dr. Levy's paper, while taking into account historical factors and comparison with other social phenomena, emphasizes the second approach.

He was asked to provide generalizations derived from many research studies in which he has been engaged over the years as Director of Psychological Research for Social Research Incorporated, and to focus on three major groups: managerial-professional workers, blue-collar workers, and women. While a more complete sampling might have been desirable, it was felt that these three groups were sufficient to provide an appropriate basis for constructive thought.

What the paper contributes to our thinking about the educational implications of knowledge, about what work means to the segments of the population described, is yet to be analyzed and developed in detail. Certain suggestions do, however, come to mind as one examines the findings on each of the three groups as ideal types.

In the managerial-professional group, for example, we find that work is totally absorbing. It is a way of life which has been expanded to include a man's relationship to his family, his community, and to the society at large. A broad understanding of the world becomes an educational imperative viewed as part of the job the man holds or aspires to. In broadly educating the man in his total citizenship role or in his role as a publicly responsible citizen, one educates the man for the managerial job. Thus the work motivation serves the purpose of liberal education. In an ideal sense a better man is a better manager.

Among blue-collar workers, on the other hand, the implication is that while certain satisfactions are achieved in the work process itself, the major thrust of absorbing interests, pursuits, identity, satisfaction, and sources of pride tend to be found in what Levy refers to as non-work situations. Hence the major role of education is to concentrate on the development of a more socially constructive use of non-work time, related to bringing men into close contact with societal needs expressed in community affairs, and to enrich their lives around the concept of leisure. The difference, then, between the two groups is essentially one in which for the managerial-professional, education supports the work image,

whereas for the blue-collar group education is oriented to the leisure image.

In discussing the third group, Dr. Levy provides us with interesting implications not only in what he says, but in much that is implied. If we follow his thinking we see a pattern for the housewife in which she closely resembles a member of the managerial group. Managing the home and its personnel is her work. As in the managerial group, the demands of the job are such that education in the total citizenship role educates her for a better managerial role.

When she is employed outside the home, she takes her position alongside the men either as a member of the professional-managerial class or as a member of the so-called "working class," (which might properly be termed, "white-blouse" or "blue smock class"). In general, however, with a steady increase in early marriages and concomitant rise in the number of women entering the work force in the middle years, today's woman straddles two work worlds: as manager with respect to the home, and as worker outside the home, a situation in which the home as non-work becomes a source of great creative potential. Her adult education then becomes oriented both toward the work image and the leisure image, depending upon whether or not she is employed and, in the last analysis, on her own concept of self in the work context.

Because of woman's historic role as an outsider with respect to masculine considerations of the world of work and employment, we might do well to study her as a model of adjustment to a changing world in which education for both work and non-work is beginning to be seen as an integrated interdependent pattern.

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Liberal Education for Adults

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WORK is a simple set of four letters that can take a prominent place among the several other emotion-laden four letter sets that express intense human meanings. It fits with the WORD that was in the beginning, with LIFE, with LOVE, and with HATE. Among these words we find our existence, our positive and negative impulses, our conscience, and our reason. Work, broadly conceived, is our actions. But its meanings ramify and entwine with these other concepts, fusing or diverging from love and hate, evaluated pro and con to form the many differentiated meanings of work.

In the physical world, work is made of such things as pressure, substance, movement, distance; and relates to ergs, dynes, power; it can be factually expressed, measured, and calculated. Psychologically, work is a subtle myriad thing, compounded of intentions, techniques, achievements, gratifications, self-evaluations, and rewards. To a man work is not merely movement, but the complex created by his goals, his skills, his feelings, his judgment of what he has done, and his awareness of how others regard his deeds. However, to say this does not identify work, it does not explain why men do not agree as to what is work. It does not explain why one man loves his work and another does not.

In popular understanding, work tends to encompass activities that are experienced as "hard"; that are essential; that are physically demanding; that are remunerated; that are compelled; that are disliked. But there are many levels here, even seeming contradictions. Some pleasures won at cost are termed work whereas others are not—their enjoyment may derive from the exertion. Money may be gained from diversions; and there are those who dislike their play.

All this says that there are no absolute standards for defining work, that the meanings of work shift from person to person. However, even accepting this subjectivity, there are some general meanings discernible that give form and content to work experience.

It is useful to distinguish between personal and social definitions of work. When a man says that his work is play, he is saying that he personally defines as non-work what is publicly regarded to be work. The personal definition of work is not a formal one, it does not rely on social categories. It is a statement of psychological reactions to how one's body is engaged, what feelings are aroused, and what kinds of accomplishments are valued. This notion of work cuts across public definitions of jobs, tasks, and formal occupational roles. By contrast, formal definitions of work are linked to places in institutional structures—to organizations, business, to assigned or bounded places with prescribed activities. It becomes the way one acts in that time and place society accepts as productive and worthy of payment. Society may or may not philosophically support enjoyment as a desirable goal in the work; it usually has other criteria it regards as more basic. In this sociological sense, work is the way certain roles (policeman, executive, lathe operator, golf pro) are filled so that the aims of those roles are furthered without regard to the subjectivity of the person filling the role—his feelings about it are his own affair.

This does not mean that people do not have characteristic ideas about work roles. Beyond the impersonal role definitions, it is recognized that prestige, rewards, fun, opportunity, environment, and many other attributes will vary with work roles and make a difference to the people who work at them. Motivations and satisfactions are presumed to differ. Perhaps the golf pro has more fun, the policeman more sense of power, the executive more feeling of importance. Also, it is generally recognized that individual preferences for work roles will vary since some people

are more suited by skill, personality, or overall viewpoint to occupy particular roles and to find enjoyment in them. That this is the case underlies the emphasis on vocational guidance and the anxiety which many young people feel about finding the "right" work. Despite the overlap of subjective and public definitions of work, and the individual variations in attitudes toward it, work can generally be distinguished from non-work. Even though one man's work is another man's play, the joyous worker usually thinks that he has an additional bonus or is lucky to find himself happy in his work; or he feels that work is not an intrinsically negative concept.

In the conventional social understanding of work, it is contrasted with non-work along several dimensions, depending to some degree on the kind of non-work involved. Non-work encompasses a range of activities, attitudes, and feelings. There is the traditional concept of leisure, the prerogative of a wealthy elite, historically engaged in contemplation, sewing, government, competitive building, travel, writing, or sensual excesses, depending on the temper of the time, place, and group. There are ideas of play, either youthfully erratic discharges of energy or as fun in games. The notion of recreation implies restoration of energy or interest either through relaxation or active diversion. There are idleness and rest, amusement and entertainment, vacation and "breaks," hanging around, a change, passing time, and getting into mischief.

Work activity, more than play, seems governed by some "law of least effort," with the aim of reducing the average rate of energy expenditure* to achieve maximum economy. While least effort may also apply to play, husbanding energy seems less the goal than is expending it freely. One reason is that work effort is taken to be instrumental rather than intrinsic; if it were not for some other goals (obedience, livelihood) to be achieved which made it necessary there would be no work. Without some concept of obligation, responsibility, duty, coercion, to enforce the activity it would not be work. Non-work—even while it sets up goals (rules, scores, achievements)—is taken as relatively intrinsic. When work is finished, the individual is free to follow his own bent, to develop his body, abilities, interests, and awareness as he wishes. He can enlarge his area of psychic autonomy to match his freedom of activity. Non-work usually

* Zipf, G. K., Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort: An introduction to human ecology. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1949.

involves elements of spontaneity and variation. It means not planning, but acting on the spur of the moment; it means less concern with discipline and self-control. Where work requires completion or sanctions, non-work can be interrupted at will or whim. To work means to act as part of a process, a series of actions that express community-defined needs which are linked to the economy. In general, the farther the line from basic economic pursuits, the more difficult it is to appreciate someone's activities as work. Thus, to make things people will consume is work; whereas non-work is more egocentric, self-indulgent, and seems less engaged with the core economic gears. One does not have to be paid, for an activity to be work, but it helps.

These comparisons of work and non-work are somewhat severe. They tend to ignore the overlap between the concepts of work and non-work, and to imply that work is undesirable and non-work is attractive. There are other meanings that elevate work and demean non-work. A degree of devotion to work has traditionally been viewed as ennobling, as reflecting or inculcating moral values and developing strength of character. In this view, work means that one is appropriately engaged in society, making a constructive contribution to it and to those close to him. He can hold his head up with pride and dignity. He can find channels of expressiveness, accomplishment, and perhaps leadership. Most people must work, and society through its religious, social, and rational institutions points out merits and opportunities for gratification in the necessary activity. Through the realities of achievement and the effectuation of one's capacities, in addition to social and economic rewards from the environment, work takes on deep meanings as a (potentially, at least) source of self-esteem. The more the work allows the individual to explore and draw upon his resources the more he can have a significant and deserved narcissistic appreciation of his own being.

When work is being lauded in this way, the customary complement is to see non-work in its negative lights, as representing the absence of the merits of work. Then, non-work is a burden, a mischief in the making, a Sunday Neurosis in which ennui vies with evil. It is activity in accordance with non-productivity when baser impulses and lesser human aims seek satisfaction in empty amusements.

These are general ideas, variously put forth in discussion of the changing work scene and the controversial requirements of diminishing work

hours. The meanings of work take on nuance and discrimination when examined more specifically in relation to different social groups. Some people work more than others; and work means more to some people than others. Certainly different kinds of work have different kinds of meanings. For a clearer idea of what work and non-work mean in contemporary American society, it is useful to explore some major and distinctly different social groups. Work would inevitably have diverse meanings between groups if only because of how different workers are viewed. There is a tendency to regard people who produce real objects more as real workers than those who sell the objects—and non-workers are those who consume the objects. Similarly, productive work is assumed more likely to be going on when it is physical and moving, closer to the use of muscles and manual handling; whereas people who talk and think for a living are less likely to be members of what is therefore so meaningfully called the working class.

The meanings of work tend to vary consistently among people, depending on their different occupational foci. The kinds of things done by one or another work group, the definitions of the activity, the historical circumstances leading to one's filling the job, select certain kinds of people and produce similarities in their viewpoints, objects, and feelings. A few groups will be discussed to show how this works out among some important segments of the population. Ideas about these groups have been drawn from personnel testing data, and from an array of research studies in contemporary attitudes and behavior.

One significant group is composed of the men who are engaged in professional and managerial activities. They are middle class people, often upper middle class or striving toward this social status. They reflect a child-rearing oriented achievement, an intellectual and educated outlook aimed at an awareness of ideas, principles, and personal success. Ignoring the diversity of roles, duties, and performances within such a broad category of men, the nature of their region of functioning may be characterized. Their contribution is verbal, organizational, and relatively abstract; they deal with people, papers, and "problems."

They have relatively long-range goals, a sense of social perspective, and of how larger historical and contemporary forces affect their own aims and situations. They try to relate this knowledge or awareness to the concrete things they must do, to take account of intangibles such as motivation, incentive, human relations, economic trends, and those prin-

ciples that are formally taught as training for their occupations.

As managers, administrators, and professionals, they have assumed some breadth of responsibility, one that implies devotion, commitment, and the government of an interpersonal arena. The goal is to coordinate, stimulate, coerce, order, and (more or less patiently) to shepherd the people involved through the necessary instrumental steps toward achieving some coherent result. This coherent result is not supposed to stand by itself. It is to further some concept of administrative or professional consequence—a production quota; company growth and profit; general human health; social order; education; enhanced expressiveness; and so on. Daily work is a means to these ends, and a testimony to one's pursuit of them.

For these men, work is often the central pole around which they organize their desires and ambitions, out of which they build their life style. They commonly feel intensely about their work and struggle to find it socially important. Because their accomplishments are usually intangible, interpersonal, and spread out through time; because they do not produce physical objects through physical exertion, they often suffer from an internal sense of disapproval. They feel their days are spent busily and ardently, in meetings and on the telephone, but without visible results. This leads them to complain that they didn't get any work done. They can be inordinately proud when some sub-goal is achieved, being very relieved at having carried through for so long to a conclusion. Recognition through new status, money, new objects (at work or at home)—such things are important to consolidate the accomplishment; and are needed by these men because they have the problem of evaluating themselves and showing themselves as capable without explicit criteria for what their organizations and institutions are supposed to accomplish. Good management, good teaching, and good administrating are on-going processes whose daily increments must be taken largely on faith. And after the flowering of a particular goal, attention must shift quickly to the future again.

Work is absorbing to men of this level because it is one's career being expressed and unfolding with always more to accomplish, to pursue the great unfinished business. The pursuit is of a will-'o-the-wisp because the large goal constantly changes and recedes with new findings, new perceptions, and new definitions of human needs. It also remains unfinished because the man who takes responsibility for other people in his work and

who seeks positive achievements through time agrees with Aristotle that "happiness is activity in accordance with virtue," and that the good man cannot be truly judged until he has lived out his life.

Even men whose specific work motivation is moderate commonly feel they must express persisting long-range ambition. Personnel forms are monotonously filled out with expressed wishes for "further opportunity." The executive keeps looking for "challenge," "more problems—more change." One division manager said his present hobbies and interests were "golf, swimming, business reading, and bridge"; asked which hobbies or interests he planned or hoped for in the future, he wrote "higher level executive position."

The administrator is then inevitably frustrated. He builds his life around a multiplicity of forces which emphasize the ambiguity of intangibles; the incompleteness of large abstract goals; the recalcitrance of people; and the relative lack of standards by which he may be judged. This last puts him at the mercy of his peers and superiors in a more uneasy way than other workers may have to face, since judgment may then rest either in the imponderables of prestige or in its trivia. He may feel constant pressures that distract from the main goals: to run a tight ship, a smooth operation; to meet financial rather than broader social demands; to attend conventions, give talks, write articles—all perhaps useful, even essential, but often seeming at odds with what the real work ought to be.

This raises the question, what ought work to be? Perhaps it ought not to be different in process for these men; but it may require more recognition that for the administrator work does mean that doing these things is an intrinsic part of the job and an acceptable source of pleasure rather than guilt. It may mean that greater recognition should be given to work as an art form in which an object is not the goal. Perhaps an executive's work is like a dance, something that moves, has its nature in an ongoingness through time, relates to other people, and does not reserve its emotion for the finite end result as in the case of the plastic artist.

The artist too is someone whose work is central and absorbing. He too can feel frustrated by the recalcitrance of his materials or the difficulties in judging his performance. He feels saved, however, by the special relation he has to his material (which does not go home at five o'clock); by the mystic aspects of his dedication to Art and his own talent or genius that mean his work is not sordid since an inner imperative drives him to

do it. He owns it and does not have to sell it. He can define himself as self-sufficient, shutting out the world and its distractions until he has wrestled his Muse to the floor. Also, regardless of how his efforts are judged by the world in terms of utility, he may make some thing, and the fact of concrete productivity shows his work as real. The executive does not have these "outs," although he may give work the same devotion.

Because work so binds the lives of administrators and signifies so much who they are, it tends to pervade, to be so fretfully attractive, so irritatingly seductive, that they may give themselves to it to an extreme degree, spending long hours at it, and thinking about it when away from it. Technology does not help these men very much. It does not give more time off as it does on the production line, although it may help them do more work, as they dictate more letters or have more problems processed by machines. The intellectual and human problems of administration, of professional and managerial interaction still crowd the hours of the day.

Some inroads are made on this extensive involvement with work as other civic and social values arise. Many of these men want to spend time with their families, to give attention to their children, to join in shopping expeditions, to express themselves as citizens in their local communities. They want to garden, to watch some significant or relaxing television, to hunt, fish, or fly. Their non-work is often not intrinsically expressive or designed actively to nourish full-fledged personality claims. Rather, it tends to be a kind of obverse of work, justified by the work and its deep emotional demands mainly as relaxation, easing tensions instead of stimulating the mind or arousing a sense of new resources. Non-work does not seem important enough, its significance does not adequately vie with that of work; it cannot compare with the drama and challenge of the career and its anxieties. Obviously, many men in this general category are not so intensely motivated; a not uncommon theme in their fantasies is a yearning for freedom from care, for the chance to relax, to loll on a benign foreign strand.

In recent years, among the less traditional in the foregoing respects are a group who have a growing awareness of esthetic and intellectual issues, who feel that their work requires enlightenment, a knowledge of ideas and what might be gleaned from behavioral studies. Young businessmen are being educated to think of business as occurring in a human en-

vironment, as part of complex sets of interpersonal relationships. Their roles as managers are formulated in schools of business administration to include an awareness of issues of citizenship, the consideration of moral and ethical problems. Such publications as the Harvard Business Review and the Journal of Marketing imply a growing body of professional business knowledge and community, a conception of managerial work as legitimately abstract and requiring broadly educated men who are not ashamed of sensitivity. They are not Jiggs being dragged to the opera by Maggie—they are young men who buy memberships in the Art Institute, play hi-fidelity music, collect antiques, and read widely. Some critics are amused at businessmen who read Great Books and attend steam bath seminars; but perhaps these activities are also signs of change, a reflection of the fact that managerial people increasingly perceive work as part of an interwoven society in which the arts, sciences, and commerce can find some reconciliation through engineers becoming more humanistic and through artists being less embarrassed to mingle with businessmen or to make a living selling their productions.

Much of this comes about because of the modern emphasis on the need to influence the public, to communicate successfully to audiences, consumers, clients, on other than purely economic bases. There are many possibilities in this new direction. It is potentially the most harassing, being the most removed from the safe focus on making things, and it can seem demeaning to depend for one's success on how one is received rather than on how well a thing is made. But it is also exciting to feel influential, to believe that knowing the nature of man and what moves him is important and our most urgent business. To men of managerial status, this enlargement of view is still mainly a part of being a better worker, but it also may increasingly be a means to richer appreciation of life. The biases in favor of physical labor are also modifying. The executive hero is gaining form and stature; his frontier is the skyscraping office building, his ore, stock options, his pony the jet plane—and education is his smoking .45.

Blue collar workers have quite another outlook growing out of their special relationship to work. What they do is usually manual and repetitive in nature, concrete in form, and immediate in time. They are engaged in demonstrating physical prowess, locomotor skill, manual dexterity. They usually work with specific substances, processing the pragmatic objects of our material world. This gives them an intimate relation to real

things, and a direct understanding of their operation. Much has been made of the fact that this intimate relation to "things" is no longer pleasurable, that the mass production worker has become an anonymous link in a chain of meaninglessly precise events. This is undoubtedly true in many industries and jobs. As hand craftsmanship has almost vanished, and as the proportion of work done physically has shrunk, social attention has shifted toward services and administration, often leaving blue collar workers ungratified by their isolated and undistinctive—even unarduous—activities. Nevertheless, sources of pride and relationship still remain—in the magnificent machinery one masters and controls; in the speed of putting up a new building; here and there showing skill, daring, shrewdness, and insistence on high standards of workmanship.

One robust steel worker lets everyone know that he chooses to work at the hottest point in the mill, not only because this pays more, but also because it demonstrates that he has the capacity for such a demanding job. A workman delivering fuel oil for a home boasted of the new device that whistled until the tank was filled, thus preventing overflowing. He pointed expansively to his gleaming new truck (which belonged to the Standard Oil Company) explaining about its compartments, its automatic gauges, and the fact that "it cost \$40,000, probably more than this house!" In another instance a sheet metal worker, installing ductwork in a residence reassured the housewife: "Don't worry," he said, "I'll be very careful, I do every job as though I was doing it in my own house." Similar examples could be multiplied, showing a still widespread pleasure in blue collar work, an identification with its objects, and an appreciation of its materials.

Even when such are not so apparent, there is not necessarily dissatisfaction. Many workers are glad to be working at all, still undisplaced by automation whose threat hovers in dismal imminence. They are pleased when their work is well-paid, undemanding, safe, orderly. It means security, being part of the good life in America, sharing through easy work in appliances, cars, lawns, and the wealth of long evenings and weekends. There is a perhaps surprising (to white collar people) amount of contentment among these people. Usually they do not feel their evenings and weekends burdensome or tedious. Perhaps like most people when not working, they "don't do anything special," but they are less guilty and more spontaneous in the use of their non-work time than middle class mor-

alists might like. Unlike managers and professionals, they do not take their work home with them, they are sooner reconciled to the limitations of their vocational opportunities, and thus turn more readily away from the job when it is finished for the day. Many a manager wishes he had a nine-to-five job that would allow him the same sense of release and lesser emphasis on the long-run implications of his actions.

Blue collar men are the original and the true do-it-yourselfers, often having shifted their craftsmanship from their work to their homes. There they woodwork, build, and remodel. paint, paper and tile. Where middle class people have proud and often hilarious flings at these activities, blue collar workers maintain a productive stream of such achievements as a matter of course. In addition, they may appreciate and seize the opportunity to watch TV, to idle through magazines, to bowl, play cards, attend games, or work on a second job in order to buy more things.

As among managers, there is a range in the working class. Work does not have the same meanings for all groups in this general socioeconomic level. At one end are the untrained and least educated, a large and socially burdensome group. Either unassimilable in the city or occupationally displaced, they have become a form of un-worker, not merely temporarily without employment, but marginal to or encapsulated like a growth in the economic body. They do not have a choice between work and non-work since they cannot find employment. Work means not being a public charge, a chance for survival, or for gaining some degree of self-respect. Their non-work is not leisure, but a dreary, restless passage of time; hopefully some portion can be channeled into learnings that will make workers of them.

At the other end are the highly skilled blue collar workers whose work is important for the technology and electronics of the day. They are most meaningfully engaged, their work signifying participation in the new age they read about in the newspapers. The modern blue collar workers see the possibilities in education, in adaptation to the life styles shown on television. They want their children to have more education, to take dancing and music lessons, to see children's theatricals, to own the Golden Book Encyclopedia, in essence to be prepared for upward social mobility.

These people have a vision of improvement, usually for their children, sometimes for themselves. If the vision includes the white collar world and what they see as it graces, they may think about special study,

training and courses that might polish them and equip them to move ahead, perceiving work and education as the tandem to improved social circumstances.

Meanwhile, back in the kitchen is another person. She does not work. Life requires of her merely that she cook, launder, and dust, shop, diaper, and scrub. She manages an establishment of more or less unruly personnel, only one of whom did she interview prior to accepting. She is purchasing agent, finance officer, processor of raw materials and public relations counsel. But she is called "just a housewife." It is currently fashionable to mull over the role of the woman; to try to reconcile her biological nature with social freedom; to analyze her strengths and man's weaknesses; and to resolve the problems of her discontent via whatever means can be imagined—more education, less education, psycho-therapy, a new type childhood for girls.

How a woman interprets her work reflects how she defines herself as a woman within the limits of social boundaries. Our society seems to allow men to do a diversity of things, but limits more narrowly the ways of being a real man; whereas women are limited in their social roles, but allowed a wider range in being feminine. Perhaps this is another way of saying that women are permitted greater latitude than men in personal and emotional expressiveness. But it means that women do have a narrower set of opportunities to exercise their skills in an intense, devoted, or developed way outside of the home.

This highlights the fact that the social definition of work is masculine. Perhaps, more precisely, since there seems no special objection to women laboring in one fashion or another, women should not work for money. To do so is to intrude on the man's world, to demean womanliness, to assert a kind of equality that few societies find comfortable. Despite the many women now asserting this equality, it is still marvelled at as a contradiction.

Part of the logic here is that there is a division of labor, men out in the world earning, women laboring to rear the family and maintain the household. Another facet—in higher status groups particularly—is the logic that women guard the social and leisure life of the family. From one viewpoint, leisure (and its cultivation) is feminine and some traditional discomfort with having "free time" comes from a stern masculine belief that the leisurely elite are effete and decadent, cultivating delicate effem-

inate arts and excessively sensuous awarenees of oneself and the pleasures of the world. This view sees reading as passive and overly introspective, for example, preferring recreation that mimics traditional man's work—hunting, fishing, and other sports.

As one consequence, women acquire a fine discrimination among the various things they can do. They focus their interest and gratification in diverse directions, suggesting various ideal types. Some are primarily mothers or wives with their energies deeply invested in their children or husbands, anxiously tending to them, watching earnestly for signs of difficulty or cause for pride, vicariously reliving childhood, constantly giving of themselves in sacrificial maternal style or eagerness as a spouse. Others are fundamentally cleaners, chasing dirt like the old Dutch Cleanser symbol in avid pursuit of fastidiousness and order, and woe to the people who get in the way. Another group turns from children and house. They see the primary object to be worked on is themselves. They seek a fulfillment in self-development, in enhancing their own bodies, minds, or social participation. They want to be out, around, and doing, gleaming feelings of accomplishment and deference that grow out of admiration of them as expressive people rather than as female or efficient.

Although women protest the implication that modern laborsaving devices leave them idle, they probably do have shorter work days than was true a generation ago. This gives them greater discretionary time and greater freedom and flexibility in determining what to do any given day. Their activities tend to fall between the immediate restraint and routinization of the blue collar worker and the opportunities for autonomy and initiative open to managers; they act as both planner and doer in the home.

Among the accustomed categories of non-work, such as play, recreation, amusement, women feel somewhat deprived. When not doing the things formally defined as housework, they tend to engage in what have been called non-work obligations which relate to church, school, sickness, and politics. These obligatory activities, more casually called volunteer work, are especially satisfying to women because they have some of the relieving and free-choice quality of non-work joined with an importance and seriousness that vie with men's work.

Such volunteer work lets the woman get out of the house for virtuous reasons, protecting her against criticism to some extent. (There are still those quick to point out women who supposedly neglect their family re-

sponsibilities while "traipsing around" ringing doorbells for charity and candidates. This kind of work engages a woman, giving her the feeling that she is making a contribution to the larger world; that she is helping her husband through civic activity. It stimulates her, affirming her in her adulthood. As one woman commented, "I can't stay home all day and have conversation with only a four-year-old."

The trends for women have been toward greater companionship and equal voice in the family, in many cases a liberation to seek new means of self-expression and enhancement. Commonly, this is forced upon them as their children reach maturity and they find themselves still youthful, with only two to cook for and an easily tidied house. They want to continue to feel vital and important, but often are uncertain how to do this. Non-work obligations are one direction they can go; a job teaching, selling, or in an office is another. A third avenue is via the humanities, Great Books, art appreciation, languages, a dip into the plastic arts or a stab at writing children's stories.

For most groups social change poses complex issues. In an earlier American era there was much pre-occupation with sociological problems, with assimilation of huge waves of immigration, and the struggles to evolve acceptable group memberships and economic stability. For a great many people, these issues of poverty and not belonging still remain, but crucial as they may be, they tend to be regarded as peripheral to the problems of the core society. There the feeling is that the prizes have been won, that the transit from ethnic working class grandparent to American middle class suburbanite has been made. With this transition—true for so many—the problems often seem in a sense less "sociological" than they are psychological.

When the fundamentals of living are met, attention can turn to developing a style of life, one that is nuanced and grows from aims and self-awareness much beyond necessity. While such attention leads to difficulties—Margaret Mead has referred to "the worm of self-consciousness" in our society—it permits new kinds of fulfillment and self-realization.

In such a time, the new key words are identity, and creativity, and the need for varied experience. How can we bring up young people so their personalities will be coherent and effective, so that they will not be spoiled by permissiveness or damaged by restraints? What Dr. Spock or Gesell can help us rear them to know who they are and to be capable of

being creative? We yearn for old work goals imposed by a harsher environment with its more austere rewards. We try to revive excellence as an aim at least, with imagination and insight a grander dream, to say nothing of the ability to make rich use of our less tired selves.

In these respects we seek to take advantage of the changes and repercussions in contemporary life. As modern science and technology have undermined traditional notions of work and property, and as our society shifts its orientation away from agriculture and production to distribution, government, and services, these repercussions come to focus. By their magnitude and their intensity, by the problems they pose as well as the opportunities they provide, they create crises: one is certainly an intellectual crisis. Modern events place great demands on people for revising their views of the world, their capacity to understand and act upon the environment. The need to adapt, to take account of new circumstances, to revise old assumptions and stereotypes, all these press upon people. This pressure finds expression particularly in educational ferment. It makes the average citizen feel both at the mercy of science, but also eager to command it, and to gain its benefits. The intellectual crisis demands a revised curriculum, that more people be educated, that they be educated more intensively, at length or in accelerated programs for those more capable. Vast educational complexes make some time in college like a higher high school; and many are not released from this prolonged juvenile-type status until near a third of their allotted life span.

Not only does this mean "college for all," but the importance of education as a value, as a modern competitive requirement for achievement and earning, pushes toward continued learning, adult education, even the dream of learnings that will allow a man to change his occupation to a fresh one when in his forties and he becomes weary of what he has been doing, or finally earns the degree that will permit him to claim a higher job status. Having to reach out this way to encompass reality more thoughtfully than ever places a premium on all experience that can be interpreted as educative. Some of the commercial results are already apparent. Educational manufacturers and publishers are thriving, going public; audio-visual materials grow, people buy devices to foster more rapid reading, as though we were verbal sponges who are not sopping up the words fast enough to keep up with their flow. Dime stores, variety stores, drug stores sell books, including workbooks to help first grader's prac-

tice arithmetic and reading.

This urge to use an intellectual approach to life in the desire to be knowing and self-conscious about it pushes people toward the broader horizons of travel and sophisticated information, to read articles that discuss theories of family relations, how to bring up difficult children or live with a demented aunt, and what recent surveys show about such matters as the public's attitude toward doctors. In sum, a big problem of the intellectual crisis is how to make the new technical and psychological world comprehensible, to pass it from the innovators through old-fashioned adults to the youngsters who will hopefully and casually survive this crisis.

See this brings us round to work again. Changes in the meanings of work are an inevitable accompaniment of the intellectual crisis and the shift from traditional ways to the need for self-awareness. Perhaps it is less a change in the meanings of work than in their emphasis and focus. When work meant serfdom, a sixty-hour week, or a sweatshop, there was little point to consider subtleties of work gratification; but nowadays people may complain of minor degrees of monotony or repetition. As burdens ease, it is assumed that they should ease further. If people are freer to think more, they can explore the fuller range of work and non-work satisfactions. Our overview suggests that these are many: 1) that they may grow from biology and the necessity to discharge physical tension—we want to eat and to exercise our bodies; 2) from ways of joining with other people to carry out the more elaborate social requirements of work—we want to work either for or with others; and 3) from finding outlets for individuality and personal skills.

This last is the large modern problem for Americans. As our discussion suggests, it is a particular issue for managerial men in their channelling of energy in their career lines; a particular issue for blue collar men partly in their work, but more so in their growing time away from work; and a particular issue for housewives in all spheres as they seek to define where they can function most effectively.

In general we may ask, what kind of worker is needed as requirements for ingenuity and freedom of thought become greater and routinization is left increasingly to the machine? Certainly he is less a worker and more a human being as he moves from biological necessity to psychological satisfactions for his motives, to the extent that a "worker" is more nearly a nourished set of muscles and a human being is an integrat-

ed person whose life style blends work and non-work as a superior expression of his many capacities.

In the past, work has been the great necessity. It is clearly less so now for great numbers of people in this country, making the discovery of oneself through non-work activities more possible than before. Work-pride may well be diminished even for those still devoted to it; but what it demands may well become more complex. It is perhaps paradoxical, then, that non-work, by providing the greatest opportunities for those elements of spontaneity and imagination that make for fuller flowering and fruition of individuality—if they are seized!—may contribute the most to the kind of self-love that is a deep aspect of being a good and successful worker.



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A Philosophic Plan of Action
for Teaching**

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CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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PREFACE

This essay, delivered originally as the Presidential Address to the Philosophy of Education Society on April 3, 1964, was written while George Barton was on leave from Tulane University as Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. It first appeared in written form in Educational Theory (Volume XIII, Number 4), and is here reprinted by permission of the Philosophy of Education Society, the original copyright holder.

It is brought out under the imprimatur of CSLEA because it is a significant and thoughtful philosophical statement which has both implicit and explicit meanings for adult education. George Barton is a philosopher who believes not only in putting philosophy to work in education, but, most importantly, putting it to work in adult education.

Characteristically, in this essay he gives the reader guidelines rather than formulae. He sees the whole of life as one great teaching-learning experience, and tightly builds a case for adult education as the consummation of the continuing process. In so doing he gives a rich meaning to the often loosely used words, "continuing education."

In his hands adult education becomes the continuing education of an educated man. It is defined as, "counseled, self-directed, self-realization," in which the adult educator is helper, counselor, tutor, and guide. And, the adult student is the teacher.

The idea is intriguing enough. The approach—through ordered pluralism—is an intellectual tour de force, executed with style.

Peter E. Siegle,
Staff Associate, Center for the Study
of Liberal Education for Adults

April, 1964

INTRODUCTION

Some first impressions are memorable. I shall never forget my first arrival in New Orleans—getting off a plane from Chicago, and being instantly reminded of a greenhouse by warmth, humidity, and fragrance. And I shall never forget my first attendance at a meeting of the Philosophy of Education Society.* I listened to philosophic speeches, but I had done that in other societies. What was different was what followed the speeches. Members got excited about philosophy. They did not wave their arms and shout, but I felt they were restraining themselves to remain ladies and gentlemen. Here was a Society of people who were putting philosophy to work, and so they cared about philosophy. I was startled. When I recovered from shock, I was pleased. I had found a home.

Like you, I am trying to put philosophy to work. Of course there are various ways to do this. I am still trying to conceive philosophy (as Dewey did) so that it issues in plans of action. I wonder whether Dewey recognized the pragmatic importance of religion. I wonder whether he should not have given more specific guidance to teachers. I wonder whether his theory of inquiry is really general enough. And so I wonder whether I am still a "follower" of Dewey. But I am still trying to make philosophy yield plans for action.

What I have to offer (despite the pretentious title) is only a progress report. Two years ago, I argued myself into a pretty radical pluralism. I still stand by it. Tonight I shall try to put enough order into it to make it yield specific guidance for teachers. First, a review of the pluralism. Then, on to order!

I. PLURALISM

A. Radical Pluralism

I am already committed to "Radical Pluralism."¹

* Presidential Address, Philosophy of Education Society, Hotel Sir Francis Drake, San Francisco, April 8, 1963.

Years ago, in a London musical, there was a character who declared: "I don't like spinach. And I'm glad I don't like spinach. For if I liked spinach, I'm sure I should eat lots of it all the time—and I hate the stuff!" With similar logic, I would say: "I don't like uniformity in education. And I'm glad I don't like it. For if I liked uniformity, I'd work to make schools and teachers more alike and the resulting dreary sameness would be intolerable!"

For any individual student, for any class, for any pluralistic society like ours, we need pluralism in philosophy of education. Take one example: I have known fairly well twelve persons who, at some stage in their lives, have done outstanding work in secondary schools: Elizabeth Kates, Lillian Henry, Delia Bard, Harvey Smith, and Emmet Duncan Grizzel at Millville; Paul Redcay, Mary Rouse, Martha Pennington, and Robert Stokes at Leonardo; Henry Fountain at Chateau de Bures; Ruth Cunningham at Rochester; and Dorothy Yarnell Barton (everywhere I go!). All first rate. All different. And different partly because their basic philosophies of what they were trying to do were different. It takes all kinds, with all sorts of philosophies, to make a good educational world.

In any case, philosophic pluralism seems inevitable—not because men find multiple ways of being wrong (though they do), but because they find multiple ways of being more or less right. Philosophers differ most fundamentally according to the questions they raise. Among the most fundamental questions any philosopher can raise are: what method? what principles? what purpose? what subject matter shall I choose? By gluing together four answers to these four questions, one can exhibit four pure types of analysis: logistical, dialectical, problematic, and operational. Maximum permutation of the components of these would produce two hundred fifty-six pure types of analysis. Many of these are actually legitimate, because all four answers to all four original questions are legitimate. Conclusion: There are many different legitimate ways of conducting philosophy's theoretical quest. Moreover, each theory offers somewhat different guidance to educational practice. Conclusion: There are many different legitimate ways of guiding teaching by philosophy.

From all this, it seems that any philosopher's starting points are not genuine "givens," but "takens." It seems that de principiis non disputandum est—concerning the first principles of philosophy, there can be no philosophic dispute, precisely because they are first. Without making

some supplementary non-philosophic approach, philosophy can never hope to bring its theoretical quest to a single, unambiguous conclusion; and will therefore always offer a multiplicity of guides to education. Philosophical pluralism seems inevitable.

Moreover, the inevitable pluralism is of a very radical type. Traditional pluralism has deplored the existence of non-pluralists. (Recall, for example, the wars it waged against "absolutists," who—it said—pretended they had a pipeline to God.) The pluralism demanded, both by the practical needs of education and the theoretical quicksands of philosophy, cannot properly discriminate against "absolutists." Practically, they are needed to counter what they take to be the educational excesses of traditional pluralists. Theoretically, their starting points are as legitimate as those of the traditional pluralists. I am therefore committed to a radical pluralism—a pluralism of the second order.

Theoretically, teachers could live alone with this pluralism and like it. Different kinds of theory illuminate different things. Of course, a teacher must choose one practical course of action. But he may want different things illuminated before he chooses. And so he may want to look to several different kinds of theory in making up his mind about teaching. To consult several kinds is no more absurd than consulting both relief maps and highway maps before taking a fifty-mile hike.²

But practically, teachers can live much more happily with such a pluralism if something else is added. Until something is added, it comes down to this: "Listen to all the theories. Listen to the practical guidance each offers for education. Then do what, on the whole, seems best." This is unquestionably good advice, as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. Unless I add something, teachers will not even try to make my philosophizing work.

B. Corridor Pragmatism

I am already committed to "Corridor Pragmatism"; I can add that to Radical Pluralism, for what it may be worth.³

Some sort of pragmatism seems called for. We want to turn to the-ory for the one best plan of action. But rather different plans are proposed by different theories. And we are embarrassed, because a swarm of theory-builders offer to build us theories on various sets of foundations, and one set of foundations seems just as legitimate as another.

How to choose? If we cannot choose theoretical guidance by where it starts, perhaps we must choose by where it ends. If we have to admit that many theorists' foundations are legitimate, perhaps we should "take" from the man with the best sky-hook! Perhaps, as philosophers of education, we should boldly insist that education is the pay-off; and that the best philosophic guidance is that which points education toward the development of the finest humans. To this temerity, I am already committed.

I must propose a pragmatism broad enough to cope with radical pluralism. One tied down to radical empiricism will not work. I must propose something more like the methodological pragmatism which William James discussed at the beginning of his famous lectures:

At the outset, at least, it stands for no particular results. It has no dogmas, and no doctrines save its method. As the young Italian pragmatist Papini has well said, it lies in the midst of our theories, like a corridor in a hotel. Innumerable chambers open out of it. In one you may find a man writing an atheistic volume; in the next some one on his knees praying for faith and strength; in a third a chemist investigating a body's properties. In a fourth a system of idealistic metaphysics is being excogitated; in a fifth the impossibility of metaphysics is being shown. But they all own the corridor, and all must pass through it if they want a practicable way of getting into or out of their respective rooms.⁴

This is good, but not quite good enough. Let us modernize the image:

I can see William James now, at the Athenaeum Hotel, where he lived during his stay at Chautauqua, tiptoeing down the dim corridor, past the polished shoes of those already retired, until he shuts himself up in a single room marked "Radical Empiricism."

Let us, instead, go to one of Chicago's new Marina Towers, which are round, and boldly stipulate two things:

First, we've got to have a whole floor, with windows looking in all directions; and

Second, we've got to have parents and their children, and teachers and their students, performing all around the tower; for our whole purpose in insisting on such good views is to learn how to guide teaching.

Now, if we want to know what kind of Greek galleon the University of Illinois is mooring at Navy Pier, we shall use eastern windows. But if we want to know what shades of maroon the University of Chicago is smearing over Rockefeller Chapel, we shall look to the south. Of course

all windows look out on the same world; but each has its blind spots, and no two give exactly the same view. As radical pluralists, we want the kind of pragmatism which permits us to look at every educational problem from whatever windows show it best.

This is the "Methodological Pragmatism" or "Corridor Pragmatism" which we need.

Theoretically, teachers may gladly teach with nothing to help them but Radical Pluralism plus Corridor Pragmatism. Within each problematic situation, all they have to do is this: (1) Try out forms of thought from each of the four great general patterns of inquiry—operationalism, dialectic, logistic, and problematic. (2) Resolve the situation by the aid of whatever forms of thought work best. What do I mean by "work best"? Roughly, what Dewey means. Theoretically, this would lead to a fine, concrete resolution of every educational problem.

But practically, teachers still need more help. Dewey's brand of pluralism, with his brand of pragmatism to guide it, was difficult enough: it gave teachers one universal pattern of inquiry, and simply bade them apply it again and again in each problematic situation.⁵ Unsupplemented, my brands of pluralism and pragmatism would be even worse: they give teachers four general patterns of inquiry, and bid them try all four in each problematic situation. Art is long and time is fleeting; and the art of teaching is no exception! Unless I add something, I have proposed an impracticable pragmatism.

II. ORDER

I therefore turn to order.⁶

I must find some way to tell teachers, out of one corner of my mouth, "In planning teaching actions, be guided by all useful theories," and, out of the other, "In planning this teaching action, be guided particularly by this useful theory." I can come closest to doing this by finding that practical situations of different kinds, or at different levels, call for different theoretical guidance. If I can do this, making sure that all available guidance is used for all it is worth at some time, I shall perhaps have done as much as possible.

The modes of guidance used by teachers are also modes of thought to be learned by students. This makes the curricular problem somewhat

comparable—arranging times and places for everything, yet leaving no doubt about when to emphasize what.

For both problems, we must differentiate kinds and levels of situation, for which different types of guidance may be appropriate.

A. Kinds of Teaching: The Educational Parts of Man

How long has it been since anyone spoke of a cultured man as a "man of parts"? I want to use the old phrase in a new sense. One central business of teaching is disciplining men in "how to think." But if we think, not in one pattern of inquiry, but in four, then what? Then the educated man will have four parts.

Let us take all learnings as our universe. Let us take the relations which order them as our touchstone. When we classify by this principle, we discover four great kingdoms of the mind:

- (1) Learnings ordered by purposive relations, to deal mainly with purposes and means;
- (2) Learnings ordered by internal relations, to deal mainly with organs and organisms;
- (3) Learnings ordered by external relations, to deal mainly with mechanisms and their parts; and
- (4) Learnings ordered by classificatory relations, to deal mainly with genera and species.

But our image of kingdoms fails us, for the territories overlap. We cannot really draw boundaries, allocating some subject-matters to each; for each tries to take the whole intellectual world as its province. Each tries, but each partially fails; and so there are parts which—for a few centuries—appear really to belong to one or another.

Let us change the image. Let us think of the world as like those charts which doctors use to test color blindness—a world with four great kinds of pattern running through it, printed in four different colors. Then let us stipulate that we must all wear colored glasses, all the time. While I am wearing red glasses, I see only the red pattern. While I am wearing green glasses, I see only the green pattern. And so on. In the terms of this new image, we must discipline men to satisfy their curiosities and to act practically with reference to all four kinds of order.

And so the educated man will have four parts—or four visions through four kinds of glasses. To develop him, the curriculum needs four parts. To teach it, the school needs four parts, from womb to tomb. Four functional parts, surely. Four corresponding structural parts, . . . well, maybe. But let us amuse ourselves by speaking concretely, as if we were revolutionizing the school.

1. The Purposive Vision of Life

Let us promulgate a Division of Purposive Relations or Division of Purposes and Means, to discipline men to inquire skillfully into the purposive vision of the world. Let us invite all those to join who want to study or teach about purposes, and to explore how far it gets you to think in purposive terms. How far does it get you to try to understand how artists combine parts in works of art to achieve aesthetic purposes? how speakers combine parts in speeches to achieve rhetorical effects? how statesmen devise institutions to serve social goals? how scientists think and experiment to confirm scientific truths? how animals take effective steps to feed themselves? how God acts to attain His divine purposes? And so on.

The object of the Division is to inquire, not to dogmatize. This means that it must comprise all those who want to assess the values of the purposive view, pro or con. If somebody wants to talk about the purposes of animals or gods, he belongs here. If somebody else wants to argue that even men do not really have purposes—they only think they have—he also belongs here. But it would be my assumption that most people understand many aspects of life in terms of purpose, and that every student should get a chance to practice viewing the whole world through purposive spectacles, deciding for himself what he can see, and what he cannot usefully see, in purposive terms.

2. The Organic Vision of Life

Let us promulgate a Division of Internal Relations or Division of Organs and Organisms, to discipline men to inquire skillfully into the organic vision of the world. Let us invite all those to join who want to study or teach about organisms and to explore how far it gets you to think in terms of internal relations. How far does it get you to try to understand how the parts of a painting function together organically to constitute an organic unity? how an institution grows, as if it were a living thing? how

the organic structures of humans and animals function together while the humans and animals live? how men gain insights? how the pros and cons of issues get inextricably interwoven? how anyone could seriously say, "This world is a great animal"? And so on.

Again, the object of the Division is to inquire, not to dogmatize. This means that it must comprise those who push the organic view for all it is worth, and those who insist that it isn't worth much. But I would assume that most people understand many aspects of the world in terms of organism, and that every student should get a chance to become thoroughly competent in viewing anything in that mode which he finds it useful to observe in terms of internal relations.

3. The Mechanistic Vision of Life

Let us promulgate a Division of External Relations or Division of Mechanisms and Parts, to discipline men to inquire skillfully into the mechanistic vision of the world. Let us invite all those to join who want to study or teach about mechanisms and to explore how far it gets you to think in terms of external relations. How far does it get you to try to understand how points in a pointillist painting add up to a picture? how individuals combine to constitute a democracy or a political "machine"? how a dog or a man is a machine, or like a machine? how learning is seen by connectionists? how simple tools combine to make mechanisms? mechanisms to make automobiles? or space capsules? And so on.

Always, the object is to inquire, not to dogmatize. Always, we let the proponents of mechanism push it as far as it will take them, and listen to those who think they push it too far. Since mechanism is one of the great modes for understanding many aspects of the world, the student will doubtless find its logic of external relations permanently useful in some realms.

4. The Classificatory Vision of Life

Let us promulgate a Division of Classificatory Relations or Division of Genera and Species, to discipline men skillfully to use classificatory forms to get a classificatory vision of the world. Let us invite all those to join who want to study and teach about classifications and to explore how far it gets you to operate in classificatory terms. How far does it get you to classify in the arts? in the social studies? in the natural sciences? in philosophy? And so on. I am sure I do not need to illustrate.

I am sure I do not need once more to chant the litany about pushing classification as far as it will take you, but listening to those who warn against pushing it too far.

Instead, let me remark that there are some who would call "classificatory relations" a nonsense phrase. Perhaps there is no such thing as a complete "classificatory vision of the world." However this may be, classification is indispensable, if only to prepare the way for other approaches. After all, we are using it ourselves. We are suggesting that the kind of problem you are dealing with may determine whether you choose to observe it as primarily purposive, organic, or mechanistic. If it is not one more perspective like the others, it may be even more useful, if it is the preliminary view that suggests which of the others may be most useful. The educated man should master it. The curriculum should teach it. The school should be structured to provide for it.

B. Levels of Teaching: The Educational Ages of Man

Let us consider the temporal development of teaching—the different levels, which call for control by different principles.⁷

Seen in its temporal evolution, teaching may be observed to run through cycles—little cycles for little learnings, great cycles for great learnings, with the great ones including many little ones. Each cycle may be taken to involve four distinguishable functions, derived from corresponding phases in learning. By contrast with the Herbartian five formal steps, these are not five, not formal, and not steps. A closer parallel might be the phases in reflective thinking, distinguished by Dewey. Yet there is no sense in denying that these tend to come in a certain order, and therefore tend to be actual steps. Of course, they may interpenetrate. The words used to baptize them are bound to be inadequate; but this need not matter if people will interpret each word by the accompanying exposition—not the other way 'round! Commonplace words are then as good as any others; and we may suggest that teaching proceeds by inducing

- (1) Exploration, (2) Conversation, (3) Resolution, and (4) Consummation.

Now, it may be useful to experiment with the notion that we can treat a whole human life as one great teaching-learning experience, and find in it four Educational Ages of Man corresponding to the stages in more limited experiences:

- (1) The Age of Exploration,
- (2) The Age of Conversation,
- (3) The Age of Resolution, and
- (4) The Age of Consummation.

Necessary qualifications cry their right to be heard. For example: Within every Age, we must still expect to find all four functions. Within every Age, we must still expect to get exploration and conversation and resolution and consummation—not just the one of these after which the Age is named. For within any Age, a person goes through many small experiences of learning and being taught, each a complete cycle in itself. The essential image is Whitehead's rhythm of life and education (except that we are transposing into four-four time!). The image we need is of little cycles, within larger cycles, within still larger cycles, within—eventually—one all-inclusive cycle, whose phases we are calling the Educational Ages.

But let us forget qualifications. Let us temporarily be content to sketch a scheme in crude, broad strokes.

1. The Age of Exploration

Teaching starts by inducing exploration. To go all the way back to the beginning, teaching starts by inducing wonder. (Call it, if you prefer, innocence, or the shock of the sting-ray, or systematic doubt, or a sense of the indeterminate quality of a situation.) Too bad that docility is a spoilt word! Too bad that teachability is a barbarism! To be successfully taught, one must know that he does not know, and feel a yearning for learning.

But nobody ever got educated just wondering. The point about wonder is that, with appropriate prodding from the teacher, it leads to exploration. Sometimes this means letting facts lead to ideas, and ideas lead to facts, as in problem-solving. But sometimes it means opening oneself to observation, beauty, awareness, contemplation, or reverence. Exploration may involve going out to look at the world. Or it may involve staying at home and letting one's aloneness gnaw at him. Or first one and then the other.

The Age of Exploration is a period characterized by the child's sense of all the important things he does not know (starting with his very self), and his earnest effort to poke into some of them until he finds out.

Of course, these explorations naturally lead to conversation, resolution, and consummation, again and again. But frequently the conversations are more like exploratory questionings than like real give and take; frequently the resolutions are superficial and obviously temporary, even to the child; and frequently the youngster does not dwell with them long enough to let them sink in to the point of real consummation. Calling this period the Age of Exploration therefore seems defensible.

2. The Age of Conversation

Teaching proceeds by making sure that exploration opens up into conversation. The lines between stages are not sharp. Thus, a person learns just so much by poking about by himself; beyond a certain point, he asks questions and looks things up. So long as he rests with the answers he gets, I should call this vicarious exploration.

Real conversation begins when the questioner does not like the answers he gets. Then he talks back. Conversation of minds results. There ensues a give-and-take, in which one position is corrected by another.

Frequently the discourse broadens. We do not have to be face-to-face. We may advance our thinking by conversing with dead Greeks. Or we may get ahead by conversing with ourselves. Or we may converse with observed facts. Or we may let a work of art speak to us, and answer back, and let it speak again. Or we may talk to ourselves mathematically. If it be argued that there is no sharp line between exploration and conversation, this must be allowed. Such distinction as there is seems to come when the student begins to use symbols to share explorations with others, and when he begins to answer back, so that intellectual dialectic and maieutic can begin.

The Age of Conversation is marked by give-and-take—by interchange, intercourse, or interaction. The student may zig toward excessive self-doubt and zag toward excessive self-confidence; but the skillful teacher acts as Wheatstone Bridge to bring him back, again and again, to the proper heading. During this period, one position should confront another position, with each correcting the other. Of course these conversations normally arise out of explorations and lead on to resolutions and consummations. But no longer is the student merely poking about; again and again, he has a position of his own to contribute to the discourse, so that one can really converse with him. And, even after conversations,

the student should be neither disposed nor allowed to regard most problems as resolved, much less to settle down to living with his solutions. Calling this period the Age of Conversation therefore seems defensible.

3. The Age of Resolution

Teaching proceeds still further by leading students toward some resolution of the give-and-take of their conversations: one cannot get along in life by simply kicking things around. When we let practical pressures force us to premature and unjustified resolutions, this is innocence lost. At least we can keep such resolutions tentative, hoping for a later moment of innocence regained. What justifies a resolution? Intellectually, an insight? Pragmatically, an experimental test? Aesthetically, an ordering of elements? Morally, a chance to do good and avoid evil? Religiously, a faith? There comes a moment, justified or unjustified, when the scientist resolves his problem, the poet quits changing words, the practical man crosses his Rubicon, or the religious man commits himself to his God.

The Age of Resolution is marked by the student's deciding upon, or drifting into, acceptance of some given way of ordering the matters most important to him. Whether he decides or drifts, the matters get resolved. Whether he decides or drifts, the matters which get resolved are important to him. Because they are important to him, he gives them special attention; or because he gives them special attention, they become important to him. Nobody can ever get everything precisely settled; hence the Age of Resolution is also an age of specialization. A man's specialization is often related to his life work, and always to his life style; but which is the cause and which the effect may vary from person to person. Of course, resolutions are probably always preceded by exploration and conversation, even within this period of life; but it is characteristic of this period that the student strikes out for himself, beyond these, to settle some matters fairly precisely and definitely. Of course, consummation may begin in this period, as the student begins to let some of the resolutions have their way with him; but he is too busy resolving things for very much of this. Calling the period the Age of Resolution therefore seems defensible.

4. The Age of Consummation

Teaching comes to a close by inducing consummation. Once a man

has come to some resolutions, he must let them work in him, and have their way in his life. He assimilates acceptances, judgments, dispositions of will, and actions into what he does and what he is; and after they have worked their full influence, he can never again be the same. When they have worked their way in him, he is, in so far forth, fulfilled. The compleat angler, the accomplished musician, the perfect gentlemen—these are all men who, having achieved important resolutions in their fields, have made these into working parts of their very beings. Something of this sort is what is meant by the consummation which should crown education—a fulfillment which teaching must eventually try to induce. Not only is this the clue to disciplined power and self-control within a field; it is the process of generalization and transfer of learning to other fields.

The Age of Consummation is marked by the student's self-directed attempt to be the kind of person he has resolved to be, do the kind of things he has resolved to do, or live the kind of life he has resolved to live. It involves a taking to one's self, on one's own terms, all that one has learned so far. In this process, of course, the student may again explore, converse, and resolve; but by now these other phases of the cycle are under his own direction, and are pretty well oriented toward whatever consummation he believes is devoutly to be wished. Any important new explorations, conversations, or resolutions are subordinate—undertaken because he wants to build them into himself, his behavior, or his life. And so Age of Consummation seems an appropriate name.

III. ORDERED PLURALISM

We have identified the kinds and levels of teaching, and called them also the parts and ages of an educated man. To get our "ordered pluralism," we now need to put them together and to indicate principles for deciding which combinations to emphasize.

A. A Matrix

Let us display what we have said so far on a matrix.⁸ Let us write across four columns the names of the disciplines which are parts of an educated man—Purpose, Organism, Mechanism, and Classification. Let us write on four rows the names of the phases which are ages of an educated man—Exploration, Conversation, Resolution, and Consummation.

	Purpose	Organism	Mechanism	Classification
Exploration	<u>Exploration:</u> <u>Purpose</u>	Exploration: Organism	Exploration: Mechanism	Exploration: Classification
Conversation	Conversation: Purpose	<u>Conversation:</u> <u>Organism</u>	Conversation: Mechanism	Conversation: Classification
Resolution	Resolution: Purpose	Resolution: Organism	<u>Resolution:</u> <u>Mechanism</u>	Resolution: Classification
Consummation	Consummation: Purpose	Consummation: Organism	Consummation: Mechanism	<u>Consummation:</u> <u>Classification</u>

Taken separately, each cell suggests a possible pairing of age and part. For example, the cell in the upper left-hand corner suggests that, in the Age of Exploration, we might emphasize Purpose. But across the top line, there are three other disciplines we might prefer to emphasize in that Age. And down the first column, there are three other Ages in which we might prefer to emphasize Purpose. Taken together, the sixteen cells present all possible combinations. Now, what about ordered pluralism?

1. Order

To see the pattern of emphases which seems ordinarily the best, read the major diagonal. Please take my suggestions to be firm, but not rigid: this is what we should ordinarily emphasize, in the absence of overriding reasons in some situation to emphasize something else.

2. Pluralism

To see the "something else" to which we might transpose, read the other cells. These indicate the range of our pluralism. Other cells indicate other emphases which might be used in isolation. Other diagonals indicate other possible programs.

B. Principles for Deciding on Emphases

But why do I recommend one pattern rather than another? And what circumstances in a situation might justify departing from these recommendations? To answer these questions, let us briefly consider the factors in teaching, and the way they figure in systematic determination of educational objectives.⁹

Teaching may be taken to be an act, involving purpose, limiting conditions, materials, and agent. But it is a special kind of act, in which these get related to knowers, known, knowledge, and knowledge-inducers—or (if we quit playing with cognates) to students, world, arts and sciences, and teachers.

The purpose of any act tends to become regulative of all the other factors. An act of teaching is no exception, and so we properly seek to decide as soon as we can what we are trying to do. The teacher in his role of teacher always aims to improve his students. As a man who plays other roles, he may also have personal, social, or research objectives; and these may be inseparable in practice from his educational goals. But

the truly educational objectives—desirable changes in students—remain distinguishable in analysis.

How can we tell what changes in students we ought to aim to effect? We need an inventory of the student as he is, an ideal of the student as he ought to be, and a judgment of which gaps are most serious. We need an assessment of which gaps we could close if we tried hard enough, and what it would cost in all kinds of resources and sacrifices to close each. We need practical judgments saying, "In the light of all the foregoing, emphasize this, go once over lightly on this, and skip that entirely." At every stage, from planning the descriptive inventory to making the plan of action, we need the cooperation of philosophy, science, and common sense.

But who are "we," who decide what objectives should be sought? At the outset, we are parents, teachers, and schools. But in the end (which is not death, but consummation), the student decides for himself. There is a gradual preparation for what is eventually a Copernican revolution in education.

And what do "we" look at to help us decide? At students, world, knowledge, teacher—always at all four. But there are two cautions:

(1) In this context, "the teacher" is not really a fourth factor; he is the sum of the other three. Any human being may, through weakness, get his roles mixed up and try to change students in order to release his own tensions. But the teacher in his role of teacher always aims to improve his students. To prepare for this role, he tries to internalize all the cues from student, world, and knowledge. To perform his role, he tries to speak as their summation incarnate.

(2) While we must always look at all four factors, we cannot and should not emphasize all four equally at all times. Focus should change. In any given situation, one factor is central, and in sharpest focus. The others do not disappear, but they are seen only peripherally. Let us turn the kaleidoscope through a human life, and watch the emphases change:

1. Student-Centered Teaching

The Age of Exploration calls for student-centered teaching.

During the Age of Exploration, which is also the age of universal education, the decision about what changes ought to be made in students

rests largely with parents, teachers, and schools. To prepare for an eventual Copernican revolution, they should from the start invite the student to take as much responsibility as is appropriate for deciding what should be done. But let us face it: the Copernican revolution is still a long way off, and the amount of responsibility he can appropriately take for major decisions almost forces others to "play God."

Toward what criterion should parents, teachers, and schools mainly look in setting educational objectives during this period? Mainly to the knowers themselves—to the students. (It cannot be too frequently said that they must not lose sight of known, knowledge, and knowledge-inducers. Anyone deciding on objectives must always look at all four, but during this Age, the focus is on the student himself, and the others are seen peripherally.)

In any teaching situation in which needs of the student cry for attention, the teacher should give it. Is the student, in this situation, more than usually plastic and vulnerable? Is he, in this situation, so poised that the teaching act may start him moving with cumulative inertia either toward happiness or toward misery? If so, we should focus on the student himself in deciding what to try to accomplish.

Teaching situations frequently have this character in the Age of Exploration. Besides reaching out to the world with imagination and wonder, the child is integrating himself ("his self," may I say?). The basic structure of his personality and character is likely to be formed now, and likely never to be really re-formed in the future. Hence the objectives of education should be student-centered.

These student-centered objectives call for purposive order.

The organization of knowledge in the early years is likely to be informal and ad hoc (Whitehead), about centers of use and enjoyment (Dewey), whether we like it or not. But I think we should like it. What better way to help a child toward integration than to help him build a structure of purposes—his purposes, always, in the psychological sense, but gradually reaching out to unselfishness and self-transcendence in the moral and spiritual sense? What better centripetal force, to give a core to centrifugal explorations? What better focus for a core curriculum? Or for the work of an ungraded school?

Recommendation: From exploration to student to purpose.

Overriding considerations, however, may frequently call for change. Does social crisis threaten? Unique social opportunity beckon? Does an exciting breakthrough in knowledge suddenly fix everyone's attention on mechanism? Is your school a special kind of school, with a special mission? Do you have a teacher uniquely qualified to do the job another way? Yours be the practical judgment! You may decide, "All rules are off!"

2. World-Centered Teaching

The Age of Conversation calls for world-centered teaching.¹⁰

During the Age of Conversation, which is also the age of general education, deciding what changes teaching should aim to achieve still remains largely the responsibility of the school authorities. But the underground movements toward revolution get stronger. We may still appropriately make the entire curriculum "required" courses. But in each course, there is conversation—give and take in which the student gives substantially, and does not merely take. The student's more or less silent aims for himself begin deeply to influence the changes which really get aimed at with any effectiveness.

Toward what criterion should school authorities (and students) mainly look in setting educational objectives during this period? Mainly to the known—to the world. In any situation in which the student's selfhood is firm enough to take care of itself, it may be sentimental to insist that all education remain student-centered. Even by emphasis, we should not too long cut development of self from its natural concomitants—development of the citizen, the child of nature, or the child of God. What better spirit can there be for general education than that in which the teacher makes an introduction: "Student, I want you to meet the world!"

World-centered objectives call for organic order—an order of internal relations.

The point is not to treat everything as an organism (although the student may well seek to know himself and his mind in organic terms). The point is more the importance of exploring to the limit the interconnectedness of things, and doing it in the spirit of conversation, or dialogue. I would organize the curriculum divisionally, with committees cutting across the other way. We have got a set of matters and a set of forms to consider. We have got humanities, social studies, natural sciences, and integrative studies. We have got purposive study, organic study, mecha-

nistic study, and classificatory study. Let us make one set into Divisions, and cross-cut it with Committees to take care of the other. But throughout everything, let us aim for the spirit of conversation, examining all sides of every question, all relations of every thing—the civilization of the dialogue.

Recommendation: From conversation to world to internal relations.

Overriding considerations, which might call for change: Same as before.

3. Knowledge-Centered Teaching

The Age of Resolution calls for knowledge-centered teaching.

During the Age of Resolution, which is also the age of special education, responsibility for deciding the desirable objectives for teaching is pretty well shared. This is the age of specialization, and students decide for themselves what they want to specialize in. But once they have decided, teachers lay out the program of the specialty with considerable precision, and keep some would-be students from beginning or completing the program. During this Age, the students propose; the teachers dispose. But the Copernican revolution in education has almost arrived.

Toward what criterion should the students and teachers mainly look in determining the proper objectives for teaching during this period? Mainly to knowledge—to the arts, sciences, professions, technologies, crafts, or trades in which students specialize. When a student's selfhood is firm, and when he has been introduced to the whole system of the world, what better service can a teacher perform than induct him into the mysteries of a specialty? The main thing any specialty has to contribute is its discipline—its molding of the ways a man thinks or acts to give him self-control and power. Such discipline—which involves thorough mastery of a conceptual structure, either for understanding or for action—cannot be had by every man in every field. But in whatever fields a man makes central, whether by choice or by drift, he must master the discipline in order to resolve matters. During the Age of Resolution, teaching should be guided by the logical structure of subject-matters.

Knowledge-centered objectives call for mechanistic order—an order of external relations.

The point is not to treat the internal structure of every discipline

mechanistically. But the establishment of any precise explanatory system, whether of cause and effect or of functional intercorrelation, involves its separation, at least for practical purposes, from the whole rest of the world. At least for these practical purposes, then, we assume externality of relations. Where we do not quite get it, we can still make laws which hold true, "all other things being equal." Some fields come out clean. Others come out bleeding, as if from vivisection. But come out they must, for practical purposes of specialization. And even within fields, we normally achieve better and better understanding and control as we manage to describe in smaller and smaller steps the path from cause to effect or from independent to dependent variable: the basic trend is mechanistic.

Recommendation: From resolution to knowledge to external relations.

Overriding considerations, which may call for change: Same as before.

4. "Teacher-Centered Teaching"

The Age of Consummation calls for "teacher-centered teaching."¹¹ But this is not what it seems: in fact, it is absurdly different. Forget, if you will, the reflexivity which will give it its queer meaning. Forget, if you will, the idea itself. Remember, if you will, only my hymn to adult education (not as it is, but as it should be)—the continuing education of an educated man.

The adult—the educated man—is the student. Having resolved the problem of the general kind of life he means to live, he has begun to find his real vocation in the living of it. He is at last complete, as "the compleat angler" was complete—not dead and done for, but at last fully developed and ready to go. He has reached "the last of life for which the first was made."

The adult—the educated man—is also the teacher. With the Age of Consummation, which is also the age of individualized education, comes a Copernican revolution: each student takes over responsibility for his own education. He takes the helm and steers himself—master of his fate, captain of his soul, director of his own self-realization. That is what it means to be an adult. And so, who now decides that, in the adult student, there will be some changes made? The adult himself, playing the teach-

er's role! For that matter, who goes about inducing the changes? The adult himself, playing the teacher's role. It is finally true that all true education is self-education: those of us who call ourselves adult educators are really helpers, counselors, tutors, guides.

The Age of Consummation calls for "teacher-centered teaching." But first this means that, in guiding his own life, the adult looks within himself. And second, it means that what the adult finds there is his own best internalization of all the factors one can look at, for we have seen that—in this context—"teacher" is a summation term. He looks, then, at student, world, knowledge, and knowledge-inducers; but he sees them as he has internalized them, with their cues for the living of the kind of life to which he is dedicated.

This queer kind of self-teaching calls for classificatory order.

The adult—the educated man—is by now, in a sense, the knowledge. For by now he is disciplined in the use of purposive, organic, and mechanistic forms: they are part of him. The problem of his maturity is to know which to use for any given problem. Not that some one of these is always uniquely right! But the chances of using the most useful are enhanced if one asks himself: What kind of situation do I face? What kind of problem do I face? What kind of forms of thought are likely to be most useful? Classification offers a meta-inquiry, which assigns each form of inquiry to its best functions.

The adult—the educated man—is by now, in a strange sense, his own world; and what he inquires into is an extension of himself. From the perspective of external relations, education is education is education; and adult education is pretty much like all the rest. The one independent differentiating factor is the adult himself: he is not like less mature men. But from the perspective of internal relations, the differences in him entail differences in everything else. At long last, the very world he lives in is his world—made up of helps and hindrances to the kind of life to which he is dedicated. And it is this life for which he seeks help in the Age of Consummation.

When men are mature, education has a chance actually to be what it should always work toward being: counseled, self-directed self-realization. We who teach are the counselors. The kind of self (and world) a man builds is ultimately his business, or God's. We do the best we can

to help, each of us guided by his own philosophy. And to make help effective, we must make help orderly and cumulative. But you must counsel in your way, and I in mine. And it is good that we offer differing counsel in differing ways. This leaves man-making where it belongs: we would not want to pre-empt what is the student's job, or God's.

L' ENVOIE

Anyone mistaking this for a resolution of the curricular problem will be shot! Thus to mistake it would be calamitous, or ridiculous; but I cannot tell which! This is rather my progress report on my exploration of the curricular problem. I would hope that persons of like mind would now initiate conversation. To be of like mind with me, it is not necessary to be an "ordered pluralist"! It is only necessary to resist selling our philosophic birthright for a mess of technicalities or banalities, and to try somehow to put real philosophy to work.¹²

"There is one of like mind with me
Watching the morning moon,
But I have no way to find him out."

REFERENCES

1. George E. Barton, Jr., "De Principiis Non Disputandum Est—The Effect of Varying Types of Philosophic Analysis on Educational Theory," Talk to the Philosophy of Education Society, Hotel Deshler-Wallick, Columbus, April 11, 1960, in Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Philosophy of Education Society (Lawrence, Kansas: Dr. E. E. Bayles, School of Education, University of Kansas, 1960). I owe the Latin title to Herbert Feigl. The paper cited owes its most basic and important points to the work of Richard McKeon (which I am never sure I fully understand). Since his influence carries over into the present paper, I again cite the expositions which I followed most closely, together with several statements by others which I found suggestive:

Richard McKeon, "Philosophy and Method," The Journal of Philosophy, Volume XLVIII, Number 22 (Double Number; October 25, 1951), pp. 653ff.

Richard McKeon, "Philosophy and Action," Ethics, Volume LXII, Number 2 (January, 1952), pp. 79ff.

Stephen C. Pepper, World Hypotheses—A Study in Evidence (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948).

J. Loewenberg, "The Question of Priority," in Studies in the Problem of Relations, eds. George P. Adams, J. Loewenberg, Stephen C. Pepper (University of California Publications in Philosophy, Volume XIII; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), pp. 35ff.

Edward Gleason Spaulding, The New Rationalism—The Development of a Constructive Realism Upon the Basis of Modern Logic and Science, and Through the Criticism of Opposed Philosophical Systems (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918).

2. George E. Barton, Jr., "Analysis and Clarification of the Respective Roles of Scientific and Philosophic Disciplines with Respect to Profession: Education," Talk to the Philosophy of Education Society, Notre Dame University, South Bend, April, 1954. Unpublished.

George E. Barton, Jr., "Comment on 'Moral Education,'" by William K. Frankena, Talk to Symposium: What Can Philosophy Contribute to Educational Theory? at Northwestern University, Evanston, July, 1958; C. J. Ducasse and Harry S. Broudy, William K. Frankena and George E. Barton, Jr., Kingsley Price and Israel Scheffler, in Harvard Educational Review, Volume XXVIII, Number 4 (Fall, 1958), pp. 314ff.

3. Barton, "De Principiis Non Disputandum Est."

On taking the making of finer human beings as the supreme human interest, and the ultimate test of all philosophy, cf. Dewey's statement, which cannot be too often cited: "Although a book called Democracy and Education was for many years that in which my philosophy, such as it is, was most fully expounded, I do not know that philosophic

critics, as distinct from teachers, have ever had recourse to it. I have wondered whether such facts signified that philosophers in general, although they are themselves usually teachers, have not taken education with sufficient seriousness for it to occur to them that any rational person could actually think it possible that philosophizing should focus about education as the supreme human interest, in which, moreover, other problems, cosmological, moral, logical, come to a head. At all events, this handle is offered to any subsequent critic who may wish to lay hold of it."—John Dewey, "The Philosopher-in-the-Making," Saturday Review of Literature, Volume XXX (October 22, 1949), p. 42. Reprinted from John Dewey, "From Absolutism to Experimentalism," in George P. Adams and William Pepperell Montague, Contemporary American Philosophy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 22-23. Italics added.

4. William James, Pragmatism—A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking (Popular Lectures on Philosophy; New Impression; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), Lecture II, p. 54.

I have no particular objection to being called a "methodological pragmatist" or "corridor pragmatist" or something like that. But since pragmatism has become so closely intertwined with radical empiricism, I would prefer to avoid the term in naming my own views. James also wrote: "To avoid one misunderstanding at least, let me say that there is no logical connexion between pragmatism, as I understand it, and a doctrine which I have recently set forth as 'radical empiricism.' The latter stands on its own feet. One may entirely reject it and still be a pragmatist."—Ibid., Preface, pp. viii-ix. I am trying to "entirely reject it," except as one view among many.

5. George E. Barton, Jr., "John Dewey: Too Soon a Period Piece?" The School Review, Volume LXVII, Number 2 (Dewey Centennial Issue; Summer, 1959), pp. 128ff. I do not believe that Dewey's universal pattern of inquiry is really universal; I believe there are at least three other competitors which must be recognized. Hence my pluralism.

But mine is not a metaphysical or epistemological pluralism: it is a pluralism of forms of inquiry. Thus I have tried to be loyal to what I take to be the essence of all Dewey's thought. About five years before his death, he wrote: "Whatever relative novelty may be found in my position consists in regarding the problem as belonging in the context of the conduct of inquiry, and not either the traditional ontological or the traditional epistemological context."—John Dewey, "A Letter (from Albert G. A. Balz) to Mr. Dewey Concerning John Dewey's Doctrine of Possibility, Published Together with His Reply," Journal of Philosophy, Volume XLVI (May 26, 1949), p. 332. Italics added.

6. W. Donald Oliver, Theory of Order (Yellow Springs: The Antioch Press, 1951), p. 27, says: "'Practical knowledge' is far from being an unorganized residuum cast up in the 'mind' by the stream of experience. Really practical knowledge must provide us with those connections between the items that make up its subject-matter that can serve to make action a concatenated, organized, planned sequence of interferences with 'the normal run of events.' What does distinguish practical knowledge from theoretical is its relative intransitivity within the entire body of human experience. Practical knowledge is likely to exist as a set of 'islands of organization,' each clustered around the requirements of a par-

ticular kind of activity, but with little or no connection with one another. Hence the 'practical grasp' of one subject may not leave us any the better equipped for the understanding of another subject. Theoretical knowledge, on the other hand, is an organization of the items of a subject-matter on the basis of principles of order that are common to a number of subject-matters, and are capable, therefore, of knitting these various subject-matters into a single organized whole."

This explains my strongly formal approach to "kinds of teaching."

It also sets the problem for those of us who want to re-design the curriculum for the preparation of teachers. In "Analysis and Clarification of the Respective Roles of Scientific and Philosophic Disciplines with Respect to Professional Education" (cited in Note 2, above), I argued—following Richard McKoon—that theory is made relevant to practice in different ways in the four different modes of inquiry. I was trying prematurely to work this out, and failed. But we must work it out before we have laid a proper groundwork for curricular design in our own, or any other, profession.

For my own previous attempts at statements on curriculum, see:

George E. Barton, Jr., An Approach to "Needs" in Humanities—Some Directing Questions Pertaining to the Introduction or Revision of Integrated Courses in Humanities (Chicago: Cooperative Study in General Education, 1940). Mimeographed. (With Harold B. Dunkel, Walker Hill, and Ralph W. Ogan.)

George E. Barton, Jr., "The Derivation and Clarification of Objectives," Journal of Educational Research, Volume XLI, Number 8 (April, 1958), pp. 624ff.

George E. Barton, Jr., "Re-Thinking Functional Education," Talk to the Faculty Fall Conference, Stephens College, September 7, 1954 (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1954). Mimeographed.

George E. Barton, Jr., "Educational Objectives—Improvement of Curricular Theory About Their Determination," in Virgil E. Herrick and Ralph W. Tyler, eds., Toward Improved Curricular Theory (Supplementary Educational Monograph No. 71; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 26ff.

7. Cf. John Dewey, How We Think—A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process (Revised Edition; Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1933), Chapter VII: "Analysis of Reflective Thinking," pp. 102ff.

Of course the history of educational thought is full of periodizations. Cf. especially three relatively recent examples:

A. N. Whitehead, The Aims of Education & Other Essays (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), Chapter II: "The Rhythm of Education," pp. 24-44. Whitehead speaks of The Stage of Romance, The Stage of Precision, and the Stage of Generalization.

Robert Redfield, The Educational Experience (The Redfield Lectures; Pasadena: The Fund for Adult Education, 1955). Redfield speaks of The Phase of Exploration, The Phase of Conversation, and The Phase of Creation.

James K. Feibleman, "The Uses of Thinking," *Saturday Review*, Volume XLI, Number 9 (March 2, 1962), pp. 18ff. Feibleman (whose article is more directly concerned with philosophy than with education) speaks of stages of innocence, innocence lost, and innocence regained.

8. I owe the device of the matrix to Richard McKeon. (Compare Note 1, above.)

9. I owe my original orientation to curricular theory to A. Duncan Yocum (of the University of Pennsylvania), W. W. Charters (of The Ohio State University), and Ralph W. Tyler (of the University of Chicago). With my approach through four topics, cf.

Ralph W. Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction - Syllabus for Education 305 (Fifteenth Impression; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950).

For the general approach to philosophic problems through topics, cf. Aristotle. Topics. Also Andre Lalande, Vocabulaire Technique et Critique de la Philosophie (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1926), Tome I, p. 421: "Lieux communs," which cites Logique de Port-Royal, 3e partie, ch. XVIII.

The use of knowers, known, knowledge, and knowledge-inducers as topics is, of course, as old as Aristotle. However, I owe my own sense of their usefulness to Harold B. Dunkel and Richard W. B. Lewis. For examples of their use in discussion of curricular problems, see Clarence H. Faust, "The Problem of General Education," Chapter I in The Idea and Practice of General Education, by Present and Former Members of the Faculty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950) and Joseph J. Schwab, "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry" (The Inglis Lecture, 1961), in The Teaching of Science (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 32ff.

Apart from my obvious debts to Aristotle, cf. Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), esp. pp. 43ff. and 731ff. I have not finally followed Parsons.

10. For a criticism (perhaps unfair) of philosophic treatment of education in social terms only, cf. George E. Barton, Jr., Review of Theodore Brameld, Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education (New York: Dryden Press, 1956), in School Review, Volume LXIV, Number 7 (November, 1956), pp. 375ff.

11. Cf. George E. Barton, Jr., The General Aims of Education, Determined by a Method Involving Reflexion, Postulation, and Synthesis (Ph.D. Dissertation; Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1940). Typed.

I owe the rationalistic approach to philosophic problems to Albert E. Avey, who directed my dissertation.

I owe the idea of education as counseled self-direction to John A. Randall, under whom I served at Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute (now Rochester Institute of Technology). (As a matter of fact, I learned more about teaching from Paul I. Redcay, John A. Randall, Earl S. Johnson, and Richard W. B. Lewis than from any course I ever took.)

Any resemblance between my view of adult education and that of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is purely coincidental! They will probably be appalled by what I have said. However,

I owe a great debt to them over the years for listening to me and trying to help me write, as well as for financing half of the cost of my present year in Chicago. For the financing of the other half, I owe thanks to Tulane University.

12. For an insistence that philosophy should not lose its birthright and should be put to work, cf. George E. Barton, Jr., Review of Philosophy in American Education: Its Tasks and Opportunities, by Brand Blanshard, Curt J. Ducasse, Charles W. Hendel, Arthur E. Murphy, and Max C. Otto (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1945), in Ethics, Volume LVI, Number 3 (April, 1946), pp. 226ff.

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NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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MEANING AND METAPHOR

**On Teaching Human Values Through Poetry
at a Steelworkers Institute**

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at Boston University

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was established in 1951 by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with universities seeking to initiate or improve programs of liberal education for adults. In 1964 CSLEA affiliated with Boston University. The purpose of the Center is to help American higher education institutions develop greater effectiveness and a deeper sense of responsibility for the liberal education of adults.

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INTRODUCTION

The remarkable thing about this book is that the solid lesson on adult education it offers is so personally given. We learn well what needs to be done to teach humanistic subjects with good effect to nonacademic students -- but not through didactic discourse. On the contrary, here is an absorbing story about a significant teaching experience, remembered by a master teacher, sometimes with pride, sometimes with humility, but always with loving-kindness. The result is an essay on education, poetically vivid as only a bright experience reflectively retold can be.

The story Max Goldberg tells in this short book began in 1957 at the first steelworker's "World of Ideas" Institute, a new course introduced to top off the union's four year series of annual leadership development institutes. The subject was "Ideas and Ideals by which Men Live"; the students were union leaders who had completed the first three years of the institute series; and the teachers, a team of professors--Morton Gordon, a political scientist (at that time he was a staff associate at CSLEA), who dealt with the subject through analysis of public issues; and Max Goldberg, then a professor of English at the University of Massachusetts, who taught human values through the study of imaginative literature.*

Goldberg recalls the scepticism that greeted the announcement of the course, especially about his part in it. Was it reasonable, people asked, to expect severely practical union men, without the vocabulary of poetic conversation, possibly even without the ability to read imaginative works, certainly without the habit of it -- was it reasonable to expect such men to be willing even to try this course? Meaning and Metaphor tells the story of how they were won over to try, and how after some skirmishes to test the mettle of the teacher, the poets, and their own hearts, they admitted that they found it good. Max Goldberg is an artful story-teller, and therefore, along with the students, we too are caught up in the pursuit of meaning for human living contained in a poem by Frost or a novel by Hemingway -- and with rising excitement as the book moves on.

But, of course, the book is more than a good story. It demonstrates a teacher's creed, a faith Max Goldberg holds that all

*For a full story of the United Steelworkers' Humanities Program at the State University of Pennsylvania see Maxwell H. Gordon, "Steelworkers Penn State Experiment with Liberal Arts Program," AFL-CIO Education News and Views, October 1957. See also, Helmut S. Goletz and Arthur O. Lewis, "Steelworkers in Academe," Journal of General Education, 1963.

groups of men can be intellectually and aesthetically engaged on their own spiritual enlargement -- the unschooled "newly leisured", too, about whose capacity for liberal pursuits doubt is often expressed today. Goldberg's creed, if I may simplify it, is composed of three related beliefs: that all men can read poetry; that poetry can help a man to read his heart; that only by reading his heart can a man grasp the meaning of living and find a sense of values to live by.

Many more summer courses for steelworkers and for other union men too have followed the 1957 institute. In liberal education programs for labor generally, literature has won a fairly solid place in the curriculum. But how to make the reading of imaginative books properly useful to blue collar workers and others with a nonacademic outlook -- useful, that is, in Dr. Goldberg's sense, ". . . in a larger, a sort of long-range and indirect kind of utility" -- is still a question. It is the question to which this book provides a bright and winning answer.

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults helped to plan the steelworkers' institutes, and we have worked with Max Goldberg on many subsequent projects. It is therefore personally gratifying to all of us at CSLEA to be able to present this good book on adult education to the field.

Freda H. Goldman

MEANING AND METAPHOR

Maxwell H. Goldberg

It is an ironic commentary on our affluent society that some of the most anxious discussions and most acrimonious debates of our time have had to do with leisure. What are we--the antecedent of the "we" is left delightfully vague as is the notorious "they" of our paranoid fears--what are we going to do about the thousands who have not known leisure before, but who either already have had large blocks of open time thrust upon them or who are soon to have them. Are we to stand by and allow them to fall victims to that endemic ill of leisure--the terrible emptiness of boredom? Are we to coerce them--benevolently, to be sure, into what we regard as socially beneficial or culturally uplifting? Just what, as we are catapulted into the Cybernational Epoch, are we to do with them?

The urgency of this question is underscored by the warning: remember that the greatest blocks of this new leisure will come to those who least know how to use it. Often, this dire warning is reinforced by cynical references--to illiterates turned loose upon the town; to the vapidness of beer and bowling; to the vegetative passivity and collapse of beer and T.V. These are pictured--contemptuously or pityingly--as the highest cultural reaches of the newly leisured many; and these high-water marks are identified with the individual's maximum potential for liberal education and cultural pursuits.

To some of us in continuing liberal education for adults, the serious problem thus posed and triply underscored is not at all new. As far back as the Depression Days of the 'thirties,' some of us saw the cloud shadows of involuntary "leisure" for "the many" looming large; and more recently, since the beginning of the 50's, we have been grappling with the clouds themselves that so early cast their shadows. While, as yet, we by no means have the definitive answers, we have built up enough concrete experience to provide significant counterpoises to the Cassandra fears and warnings; and one of the most important of these counterpoises can be summed up in the plea: the newly leisured many--don't sell them short! Let me cite some of the experiences that back up this plea.

The experiences I wish to cite occurred at the University Park campus of The Pennsylvania State University in the summer of 1957. They were in connection with an experimental course in continuing liberal education for adults. The participants were, for the most part, of limited schooling; but they were successful in their work and, some of them, in the civic life of their communities. They were leaders from Pennsylvania locals of the

United Steel Workers of America; and they had been elected, by their fellow-members, to participate in the Summer Steelworkers Institute at Penn State. A joint planning committee--made up of representatives of the central staff of the Union, the local leaders of the Union, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, and The Pennsylvania State University--had invited me to be one of the two leaders for this experimental program; and, though I was aware of the difficulties and risks involved, I decided to accept.

The experiment was this: to take participants who had already been through several severely practical programs and to have them take part in a program of a different sort. This program, too, would serve practical ends; but in a different sense from the others. It would have a larger, a sort of long-range and indirect kind of utility. It would minister to the individual's needs--as yet unfelt, or if felt, still inarticulate--for better self-understanding and for better understanding of other people; and for understanding how people function in terms of their group relations; and what the bearings are of social institutions and organizations upon such self-understanding and self-realization.

This experimental program would deal with those qualities, attitudes, and practices which help people to a freer and richer appreciation of self. It would try to lead the participants to finer, richer, more just, more compassionate awareness of other people and dealings with them. It would try to lead them to a more confident facing of a fast-changing future, through more systematic, more craftsmanlike, more competent ways of feeling, reasoning, and imagining about the shape of things to come, and about one's capacity--as individual--to contribute toward the nature of the shaping and the shape. It would try to encourage them to a broader, more deeply satisfying sense of maturity.

Of course, this might turn out to be very useful on the job, for practical applications of the moment, yielding immediately and obviously practical benefits. A better understanding of self, of others, and of groups, organizations and institutions in the community might enable the individual to function more effectively on the job or in the community. A capacity for a wider range of enjoyment--through music and the other fine arts, through literature--might make him a pleasanter, more interesting, more colorful person on the job and with his family and, again, in the community. But this was not to be a main part of our immediate or guaranteed aim. Our primary aim was to help our participants come to experience--freshly and personally--the fundamental human values--as part of their own growth in self-awareness, in self-enrichment, and in self-realization and fulfillment. It was to help the individual gain more inner sustenance from our vast wealth of often untapped cultural resources.

My colleague, Dr. Morton Gordon, a political scientist, now Director for Extension at University of California, Berkeley, was going to try to fill the order by exploring, with the participants, how we get at these human values through the analysis of public issues. I was to do this through treatment of works of imaginative literature--poems, plays, novels, and so on.

Of my assignment, the experts, in the words of the then very popular song, "said it couldn't be done." They said: your colleague has a chance to succeed. Public issues--these are something you can take hold of; and you can see their practical bearings easily and directly. But literature--poetry? Most of the men probably still have traumatic recollections about studying literature. They think of it as just so much froth or frosting on the cake, and over-sweet frosting at that.

"All right," I said, "I'll fail. But I'm willing to try and I'm willing to take the chance. One such failure will not be a professional catastrophe.

The sceptics became even more emphatic. The people in the program, I was reminded, had little schooling, most of them; and they were not readers. And they would come with biases and suspicions about the man who made words and books his profession, and who talked and taught of sweetness and light--who came to them as an apostle of culture.

What to do? Of all the aids that buttress the professor appearing before a college class, I was to be stripped bare. No captive audience: these men would walk out on me if I bored them, or if, personally, I alienated them. Here was no leaning on the prestige of rank: to these men, university degrees, academic titles, publications, teaching abroad, offices held in professional societies--meant nothing. At least they meant nothing positive, and possibly, something negative. As I faced these men, my academic jargon--the special vocabulary of literary criticism and of philosophy; the finely made distinctions; the lofty theories--most of this was unavailable for my support. No manuals or guidebooks. No syllabus's. The day I first took my place at the head of the rectangle of tables at which the men were seated, I felt as though I stood alone and naked, with all my weaknesses exposed.

I decided to wade right in and introduce myself. I gave a thumbnail autobiographical sketch, in this way setting a pattern they could follow when they in turn introduced themselves.

I told how I had been born of immigrant parents; and how, as a boy, I had learned what it means to try to make out in a new country, with strange customs, a strange language, no friends, and no social status; and when one is poor and has a family to

support. I told them I had learned this through living through it with my immigrant parents.

I told how my parents had come to this country to escape--at worst, persecution and the wholesale slaughter of the dreaded "pogrom", at best, humiliation, indignity, and lack of even elementary freedom; how, through them, I had become saturated with a deep hatred of cruelty, humiliation, indignity; and steeped in pity for the victims of such evils; and how, from them, I had been imbued with a deep love of freedom, linked with a sense of duty and responsibility toward all that would help to keep us free.

I told them how, from my parents, too, I had imbibed a deep love of learning and a faith in the power of learning to keep us free, and a sense of duty to use, in the service of this freedom, whatever talents in learning I might have or gain. I told them how, from my parents, I had gained a strong commitment to work for the other human values that make life meaningful for the civilized individual, and that create a more humane culture, a more just and compassionate society. I told how it was these indignations and these loves and dedications that had led me, step by step, into this most difficult yet most challenging frontier of American education for freedom and responsibility--the frontier of liberal education for adults.

With my thumbnail sketch as a model, the others picked up and carried on. Some were brief and perfunctory. They gave the minimum: name, Local number, place, office held. But others followed my example. One said: "Me, I haven't been to school much. Only through eighth grade. But I've been doing a lot of reading since. I keep up with all that comes out on Labor legislation. I try to analyze what I read and to apply it. I like the brainwork this takes. Also I like to apply it." Another said: "I saw a lot of cruelty and violence and injustice when I was young. I want my kids not to have to go through this. I want to help make a more decent, a more just, a kinder world for them. I want them to have more fair play." A third said: "I want them to know better how to use their time when they're not on the job." Still another said he wanted to learn more so he could be of more help to certain older people in his neighborhood, when they got down in the mouth.

By the time we had covered the twenty-odd members of the group, I had jotted down quite a list of human values. This was not a list of abstract words, remote from the practical, everyday world; but rather a list of concrete words and examples. These stood for value processes woven right into the warp and woof of daily work; and value goals structured right into personal patterns of expectation and aspiration. In no trite sense, they came straight out of the book of life.

With these notes before me, I began to see the next steps. First, a coffee break, during which I could take stock and group the items on the list. Then, after reconvening, a brief report from me on my impressions of the introductory "go around." I gave my inventory of the human values the men had put forward--not vague cloud shadows or heavenly pillars of fire--but concretely realizable shapes; and not just solemn, either, but offered with a running fire of wit and with frequent bursts of the broadest humor.

Of course, I added, most of us, in our statements, had been pretty modest about how far, to date, we had succeeded in making these human values actual living processes in our daily lives; and most of us were ready to admit that, often, there were discrepancies between what we did, and what we should be doing for the sake of our human values. Nevertheless, there they were, ideal models of humanizing processes which we wanted to try to make functional in our lives. That was the important point. These values were what we wanted to have happen and what, in our responsible moods, we tried to make happen.

Having given this impressionistic résumé, I took a deep breath and made the plunge. There are some men and women, I explained, who have held these values that are to be lived out in actual life, and who have felt just as we do about them. But they have had certain abilities which, in most of us, are either dormant or non-existent. These individuals have had the ability to become more deeply stirred by these human values and the abuse or betrayal of them than the rest of us. They have had more imagination than most of us--enough to be as deeply stirred by strivings toward these values or by their abuses--even when not actually dealing with them in their day-to-day life. And, finally, they have had the gift to put their deep concerns and commitments about these value-strivings, abuses, and betrayals into unforgettable word patterns. These individuals, I went on, are one of the several kinds of master craftsmen of verbal designs we call "poets." In fact, the word poet itself, coming from the Greek, means maker, shaper.

"Now," I went on, "I want to read something to you from one of these master designers in words that deal with concerns about human values. I want to read a shaped writing in which the maker of the design, Robert Frost, gets us to share his profound concern about these human values. This is 'The Death of the Hired Man.' I will read this. I want you to listen. When I am finished, I will ask you to connect what I have read with my summary of our own inventory of human values we strongly care about."

I read the masterly design in words. From that moment, you could feel our program in Human Values through the Study of Literature was taking hold. We had a two-hour discussion of this

one piece that takes only several minutes to read. We saw it as a dramatic case history on human values coming right home to each of us. It was a case history which probed, not the problem of resolving a conflict between something clearly good and something clearly bad; but rather the more difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting claims of two values--each a good in itself.

In this instance, we had, between the husband and the wife, a debate in which each claims to speak on behalf of human values. We had a debate in which the husband advocates what seems to him decent, rational, fair and fitting, and in which the wife, with quiet eloquence, pleads for loving kindness, compassion, mercy--for love to temper justice.

At stake is the sheer survival and the self-respect of the old hired man who has come "home"--to collapse, like an old hound, worn out from the trail. But even more is at stake: it is their own integrity--the integrity of the wife and the husband--each separately and both together, and their loyalty to the human values they profess.

What we did, then, after the reading of the poem, was to establish linkages between it and our own inventory of human values; and then to define and draw out the implications of the dialogue between Warren, the husband, and Mary, the wife, and in terms of these human values. Warren defines home as "the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." Mary defines home, rather, as "the place you somehow haven't to deserve." Who is right? Who will prevail?

The men pitched right into the debate themselves. The human values were no longer a ballet of bloodless categories. We had brought the human values out of the heavens--down from the mountain tops of Olympus or Sinai--right into the kitchen of a New England farm. We were still going strong when noon came and we had to close the session.

... I had come through the opening ordeal intact. I seemed to have established a beach-head. But only a beach-head; and not too firmly established yet. The next two days were to witness vigorous attacks to test my stamina. Some of these attacks were to test whether or not my colleague and I were trying to put something over on them; whether we were agents of an enemy--"management"--out to emasculate their virility as labor leaders. Others aimed to test our own virility--or at least our masculinity.

The climactic attacks were to test whether or not we were phonies. Indeed, the men had a phobia against phonies. This extended to their reactions to the poets I introduced them to. I had them listen to Dylan Thomas reading from his own poems. Their actions indicated: he was no phoney. On the contrary, even

though few could have given prose paraphrases of what his resonant, oratorical, bardic voice uttered, some were strangely captivated. After the reading was over, several came up--to ask about the title, and maker of the record. They would say: "I want to get one for my daughter." Or, "I want to get one for my wife."

Carl Sandburg was a different story. Early in my thinking about the literature I would use in this course, I mentally listed, in addition to the ballad of John Henry which so many of my friends recommended, Carl Sandburg. Surely, he was one of them! He would talk "to their condition." How wrong I was I realized when I had the men listen to a reading of Sandburg's "We The People." The men quickly dismissed him: "He's a phoney!" they said; and, in spite of my protests, they stuck to their guns.

Robert Frost, in contrast, they decided, was anything but a phoney. They took to his New England Yankee voice, with its rhythmical rasping quality. Even more enthusiastically, they took to the rugged face they saw on the cover of the album that contained the records of his readings. "There's a real rugged he-man for you," they said. I put beside it the picture of Carl Sandburg. I told them that Frost and Sandburg were old friends; that Sandburg had been in the Labor Movement. Again, they brusquely dismissed Sandburg. . . .

What were some of the heartening indications of real gains. I can recall a number of them--none, in itself, spectacular, yet all, together, constituting quite a total. I remember an example that occurred in the midst of a discussion.

One of the men suddenly interrupted. Rising to his full height of much more than six feet, he exclaimed: "I know what you are doing!" he said triumphantly. It was as though he had suddenly been possessed of a great and transforming mystery and was now possessed of a great and secret knowledge which marked a turning point, a new birth, in his life. "I know what you are doing!" "You are trying to make us think--with our own minds!"

I remember the same participant on another occasion which suggested the gains we were making. This was at one of our "extra" evening programs. We had just been listening to Morton Gordon's explanation and demonstration of that artistry of improvisation which produces superior progressive jazz. This led to general talk--some of it quite sensitive and sophisticated--about music. "But what good is music?" asked one man impatiently. "Why listen to it?"

Without rising from his seat, but spreading his arms wide, the same man who had announced the great revelation a day or two earlier, and who was later proudly to show me his daughter's prize-winning essay at high school, now drew himself up so that, from his corner vantage point, he commanded the roomful. At the same time, with great deliberatness, he asked in deeply resonant tones: "Why listen to music? [Pause] Why do you eat?"

The first questioner was silent. The whole group of more than twenty men was silent--as though in agreement with the implied answer to this rhetorical question. The point had been made. Music--living music--is a human value--as essential to our psychic economy as bread is to our physical metabolism.

Later, that same evening, this same sensitive identifier of human values within the very processes of living, found himself alone with me. His thoughts, his feelings, it was quickly obvious, were still engaged with the earlier challenge to music and his response. "Imagine it," he said with quiet intensity, as though, in mingled wonder and vexation, he was sharing a confidence with me. "He wanted to know, why listen to music?--Why do we sing? --I can tell you why. I once had a job in a hotel kitchen. The men there always used to sing while they worked. They sang their own made-up songs; and they sang to themselves--each one to himself. If you happened to overhear them, it wouldn't mean anything to you. It wouldn't make sense. But it made sense to him--to the man who was singing. It was a song for himself. I'm always doing that. I'm always singing to myself--my own made-up song. I listen to my singing. That's how I come to know myself."

There were other signs that our efforts were telling. I think of the joy, the wonder and delight of the man who interrupted a recorded reading, by Robert Frost himself, of "The Death of the Hired Man." This barrel-chested man exclaimed, as though he just couldn't restrain himself: "That guy, he's terrific! The way he packs a whole life story into just a few words. I get the whole story--" and he proceeded, fast, in vivid words that tumbled over one another--to recreate for us his idea of what the old hired man's whole life had been up to the moment when the poem picks it up--when Silas has "come home to die." From that time on, whenever we had a session of recorded poetry readings, this same big, burly fellow, would relax in a deep chair, like a great dog before a fire. He would bask in the sounds of the poet's voice--his favorite poet Robert Frost.

I think, also, of the exclamations from some of the other men of the group when I read aloud to them episodes from Ernest Hemingway's Old Man and the Sea. I had been told that these men did not read. (I learned later that this just wasn't so.) I

therefore adopted the practice of some of my grade school teachers years ago. I read, each day, sections from The Old Man and the Sea.

Often, as I read, I would be interrupted. Far from being annoyed by these interruptions I was glad of them. For they let me know, most directly, that, through the reading, Hemingway was bringing to these so-called "unlettered men" fresh increments of that great human value, joy in craftsmanship and artistry. Free of the reticences, circumlocutions, and euphemisms, of the genteel; free, also, of the numbing silences of the apathetic or the corrosive silences of the sophisticate, these uninhibited men expressed themselves in language as fresh and vigorous as their own fresh and energetic reactions to the verbal wizardry of an Ernest Hemingway.

"Boy, that guy sure can write!" some one would exclaim. "He makes you feel the wind in your face. He makes you taste the salt air. He makes you feel like the rope was burning your own hands. He makes you feel like you yourself are in that small boat with that tough old man, struggling to get that big fish."

Some of the men insisted that The Old Man and the Sea was just another fish story--a fine story, granted, but just a fish story. Like impatient schoolboys, they would plead: "Come on, Max. Hurry up. When does he catch the fish? When does he catch the fish?" So when I came to the part where the Old Man does catch the fish, I slammed the book shut and said: "OK, boys, that's it."

"What do you mean," one of them said--"That's it"?"

"I mean that's all. You've been calling it a fish story. The Old Man has caught the fish. So that's all. It's done."

Another of the men protested: "No, it's not done. There is more."

"All right, you tell me: what?"

"There's a fight still going on."

"What fight? where?"

"In here." (As he said this, the protester beat his clenched fists against his chest.)

That "In here" gave a whole new turn to our study of The Old Man and the Sea. What kind of fight? Against that worst of sins--according to traditional Christianity and traditional Judaism--despair. And on behalf of his own self-confidence and self-respect.

Having made this break-through, the men themselves took hold and worked with me to bring about a series of fresh bursts of illumination about the "fish story." No longer was this just a story--however gripping--about a fish--however great and wonderful--in his own way so noble a creature, an antagonist worth the Old Man's respect and admiration--and even a sort of affection. Now, they saw this as the story of a man--far beyond his prime--seeking to confirm himself, once more, in his self-faith. They saw how, apparently, this protagonist loses out in a grueling contest that tries his strength and puts his stamina--psychic as well as physical--to the utter test.

Now they saw this as a supreme trial to which an Old Man subjects himself in vindication of his manhood and in behalf of his own dignity. They saw that it was not bravado which pushed the Old Man much farther out from shore than even a fisherman in his prime should have ventured; and to engage in a contest with that fish of extraordinary beauty, size and power. He had done this not just to disprove the claim of his fellow fisherfolk that he was a chronic victim of bad luck, and thus to regain his status with them. Nor had he done this just to confirm the faith in him that the Boy--his apprentice-friend--had clung to even after the latter's parents had made him give up fishing with the Old Man "of the bad luck." Certainly it was not just for the money the great fish would bring.

Rather, the Old Man had sought out this great antagonist to demonstrate decisively, to himself, that he was still a master of himself and of his craft and hence still a legitimate claimant to dignity. He had sought out the occasion to prove that, though old and alone--terribly alone--he still had the strength, the skill, the craftsmanship, and, above all, the "heart" to hold his own as master fisherman and to command his own self-respect.

So without recourse to the conventional terms of literary criticism, through rapid-fire, colloquial exchanges with the men, I drew out into the open the tragic nature of this inner fight. As I did so, I noticed that the observers* could hardly believe what they saw and heard.

What they were witnessing was a sort of minor miracle. It was a miracle whereby, through the potency of a master writer dedicated to human values and the individual, unlettered men, ignorant of literary terms and literary theory, were freshly experiencing an inrush of these human values, at once, as a single

*Members of Board of Directors of Fund for Adult Education, faculty and administration members from Pennsylvania State University and visitors from headquarters of United Steelworkers of America.

vital whole. They experienced the integrity and mastery of the craftsmanship of the writer and a great sympathy for the Old Man. Theirs was the exaltation of freshly experiencing, through his great fight--the outside fight and the fight "in here"--the perennial meaningfulness of the ancient Greek poet's observation: For an enduring heart have the gods given to man.

Now the question became: Could others successfully lead similar groups to explore human values through the study of literature? The answer has been "yes," repeated now, at Penn State alone, for about eight years. The program has now been elaborated far beyond what it was that first time, when I was referred to as "the guinea pig instructor." It opens, for example, with dramatic presentations from R.U.R. Yet in its essential objectives, it is the same.

But the initial success was not to be limited to one place. The summer following that of the first experimental presentation of the Steelworkers Institute program on Human Values through the study of imaginative literature, I was asked to become a sort of Johnny Appleseed for the dissemination of living human values. Emery Bacon, Director of Education for the United Steelworkers, and moving spirit in setting up the experimental programs, worked out with me a plan whereby I was to visit United Steelworkers' summer institutes at twelve different universities--to spread the word and to encourage other Institute leaders to try what we had demonstrated could be done. And again, as director of a project on Technological Change and Human Values, sponsored by the Penn State Center for Continuing Liberal Education, I was asked to do a synthesizing lecture at the concluding session of a Spring "Alumni" Institute of the United Steelworkers at Penn State. The Institute's theme was Technological Change and Human Values.¹

¹Editor's Note: Following this institute, Professor Helmut Golatz, Head of the Department of Industry-Labor Relations at Penn State, and director of the institute, wrote to Dr. Goldberg:

This is to thank you for your solid contribution to our Steelworkers Alumni Institute.

You were paid the supreme tribute by one of the Steelworkers staff men who said your presentation made all the pieces fit together. You should know this fellow had spent an hour with some of us the previous afternoon trying to analyze why the program has not jelled up to that point. Apparently you "jelled" it, for which, many thanks.

Over seventy attended this week-long program--among them several who had seen in our first group of the summer of 1957.

There is, however, an intervening episode that should be told. In the months immediately following that first trial program, there was a period when its repetition was in doubt. It was being weighed by the officers of the sponsoring organization. What caused this doubt? I was told by one of the younger staff members. He took me to one side and explained: "You know, some of the big boys aren't so sure they want the men to think for themselves."

This, of course, cut to the heart of the program. To learn to think for oneself: this is a crucial factor in an individual's experience of human values as lived realities. Take that away, and you deal a mortal blow to the person as a significant individual in a world of increasing coercive pressure by bigness of all sorts.

"What do you say to that?" asked my young friend.

"Look!" I replied. "I was brought in to test out something: to prove whether or not human values on behalf of the liberated individual can be freshly experienced, by unschooled men, through a study of imaginative literature. The questionnaires the men have filled out, the judgments of the observer-critics, the impressions of the planning committee, the judgments of those of us directly involved as leaders--all agree: it can be done, and it has been done. And the men themselves want more. They even want us to bring some of this to them in their home towns. So, we have made a successful demonstration. From this point of view my job is done. Now, it is up to your leaders. It is no longer a matter of proof of feasibility. It is a matter of organizational and institutional policy."

"Well," persisted my friend, "would you want to do this again?"

"Sure," I said but then quickly added: "But if, instead of what we have done, I am asked to give a cheap substitute, I'm not available."

"What do you mean--'cheap substitute'?"

"If I'm asked to give just a once-over-lightly, veneer sort of something called a 'cultural program,' I won't do it. I won't take part in a program that just offers snob appeal, or seeks to provide sentimental appreciation, superficial entertainment, or pleasant diversion. First, I don't have the time for it. Second, I believe that, to stop with only this, is a betrayal of genuine liberal education for human values. Your leaders have a commitment

to their office, their organization, and their job. So I have a commitment to my job. My job--perhaps 'calling' would be a better term--is to educate the free, responsible and generous mind.

"Quintilian, in ancient Rome, defined an orator as a good man eloquently speaking; and, in so doing, he laid the foundations for liberal education through the Middle Ages into our own time. My calling is to increase the number of good men thinking with skill, power, and integrity--thinking for themselves, making wise decisions, and laying down lines of action at once prudent and large-spirited. In this, I am like the Biblical Balaam: 'the word that God putteth in my mouth that shall I speak.' Wherever you set me down to teach, this is what I will try to develop among my students. I will be true to my job of teaching men to think for themselves (with Robert Frost, 'I'd rather he said it for himself'), to feel for themselves, to perceive for themselves, and to imagine for themselves."

This determination, apparently, was acceptable at least to enough of the Union officials to gain approval for more of the same sort of thing. I was asked back for the Human Values program the next summer and for the program the summer after that.

This was an important extrinsic indication of the success of our first trial. There were other and intrinsic signs, too. I remember, for example, the individual who, a day or two after we had taken up "The Death of the Hired Man," sheepishly confessed to me: "before we talked about this poem, if you had told me I would listen to a poem and like it, I'd have hit you across the mouth." (A gesture, which swept the back of his open hand across my face, and almost brushed my chin, lips and nose, accompanied this declaration.) "Well," he grudgingly added, "I've listened, and I like it. It's great stuff!" The same man, right after the discussion of Frost's poem, had asked, with magnificent sarcasm: "What do you want me to do? Next Monday, when I get back on the job, I should follow my boss around with an opened-up book of Frost's poems in my hands and read to him 'The Death of the Hired Man'?" Pacing, like Hamlet, as he "pored upon" his open volume of the poems of Robert Frost, held before his face, he ironically dramatized this action. At the end of the week, however, he sang a different tune: "I got to admit. Now I see how I can use what I've learned from 'The Death of the Hired Man.' You see, I'm chairman of the local committee that looks after our retired members. The discussion about Warren's and Mary's treatment of the old hired man; and Frost's way of getting us to understand how the old man himself felt--these will help me as I work with our old people and their families."

This unsolicited testimonial was very welcome to me-- especially since it was in marked contrast to the folk realism or cynicism which had led one of the men to explain Mary's compassionate concern for Silas as due to their having had an "affair." Yet I wanted to drive home our basic conviction that poetry--the humanities--are a good in themselves, to be experienced as an end, in themselves, even if they are not exploited as means--for practical use. So I said: "I'm glad you see practical uses for 'The Death of the Hired Man.' But I hoped you would like the poem even if you could not put it to practical use right away. I hoped you would like it because, with the joy of artistry which it stirs up, it makes you, in yourself, a richer, wiser human being."

Again; I remember how carefully I weighed the question of when to introduce to our group the subject of a poet's use of symbols--what Robert Frost has spoken of as the "ulteriority of the meaning" of the images he uses. I thought I would save this for late in the week (each program ran for a week). But, toward the end of the very first session, on Monday, one of the men, who had described himself as having practically no education (how wrong he was!) asked: "In the 'Death of the Hired Man,' what is the meaning of that little cloud, and the moon? --They must mean something." Thus, much before I had planned, I was forced to go into the whole matter of symbols in poetry, explaining when it is appropriate to look for ulterior meanings, in the poet's imagery, and when not, and how far one may go in the direction of "ulteriority."

Or, again, I remember a question put to me as we read the concluding section of *The Old Man and the Sea*. It came after the Old Man has lost his great fish to the sharks, when he has only the skeleton to show for his contest with the fish and his battle against the sharks, and when he seems to be utterly defeated, with nothing left inside but bitterness and despair:

There was no one to help him so he pulled the boat up as far as he could. Then he stopped and made her fast to the rock.

He unstepped the mast and furled the sail and tied it. Then he shouldered the mast and started to climb. It was then he knew the depth of his tiredness. He stopped for a moment and looked back and saw in the reflection from the street light and the great tail of the fish standing up well behind the skiff's stern. He saw the white naked line of his backbone and the dark mass of the head with the projecting bill and all the nakedness between.

He started to climb again and at the top he fell and lay for some time with the mast across his shoulder. He

tried to get up. But it was too difficult and he sat there with the mast on his shoulder and looked at the road. A cat passed on the far side going about its business and the old man watched it. Then he just watched the road.

Finally, he put the mast down and stood up. He picked the mast up and put it on his shoulder and started up the road. He had to sit down five times before he reached his shack.

Inside the shack he leaned the mast against the wall. In the dark he found a water bottle and took a drink. Then he lay down on the bed. He pulled the blanket over his shoulders and then over his back and legs and slept face down on the newspapers with his arms out straight and the palms of his hands up.

At this point one of the men signalled that he wanted to ask a question. I had earlier become aware of him as one of the real readers in the group. Several mornings before, I had placed on my table and a little to my left, a volume of literary readings, with slips of paper inserted here and there to mark pieces that I wanted to refer to. I had noticed that this man drew the book to where he was sitting and that, with obvious interest, he leafed through the volume. I asked him if he would like to borrow the book. He eagerly responded. This morning he had returned the book--with thanks. I had asked him if he was finished with it. He said that he wasn't; that there still were some selections he hadn't had a chance to read. I had told him he could have the book to keep. His face lit up with happy thanks.

Now this same man caught my attention and asked, "Doesn't this have something to do with Golgatha?"

"Golgatha?"

"Yes, Golgatha--Calvary."

"How Calvary? Remember what I've told you. A piece of writing that has artistic integrity is like one of your contracts. It is a contract between the writer and the reader. You've told me you can read only so much into or out of one of your contracts. The same holds for you and a piece of literature. You can read only so much out of it and only so much into it. You have to respect the text--the whole text and the context. So, now, with this in mind, tell us--what makes you think there is a suggestion of Golgatha or Calvary in this?"

"Well, the Old Man is struggling up a hill. The mast across his shoulders--that's like the cross. He falls several times on

the way--the way Jesus did. The Old Man falls five times, to be exact."

"Anything more? "

"His hands bear the wounds from the burning of the rope as, during his fierce struggle with the great fish, he had to pay the line out very fast. That's like the stigmata."

"More? "

"As he lies there, on the crude bed, his arms are stretched out and the palms of his rope-burned hands are up--as though he was on a rack--on a cross."

"Any more? "

"Well, he has been through a trying ordeal, has come out of it physically defeated, and yet with his "heart," his morale, his spirit, unimpaired. And he faces the future with hope. He has faith in the future. He makes his 'affirmations.' It's a sort of moral or spiritual victory. It's like Christ and the Crucifixion."

"All right," I said. "We can't be certain as to how far Hemingway consciously did this, and how far he wanted us to carry the resemblance. But certainly, you are justified in seeing, in this concluding episode, some symbolic echoes and parallelisms with Calvary. They add artistic excitement, they enrich, they deepen, they ennoble the story. All right, you win."

One of the most moving of the instances letting us know that we had met with success with at least some of the participants did not occur during the group discussions. It was provided by a personal talk with one of the participants. Actually, he was the one who had exploded our study of *The Old Man and the Sea* into a whole new burst of meaning when he had protested that, with the catching of the fish, the contest was not over, that a fight was still going on, and that the fight was right within the Old Man.

One of the recurring motifs in both my exploration of Human Values through the study of literature and in my colleague's discussion of Human Values through the study of public issues was the twin concept of entrapment and enfranchisement. Without advance planning, both of us happened to hit upon this, and our group seized hold and helped us develop it.

In brief, the idea came to this: Often, we are entrapped by an habitual reaction to a given situation, or to recurring circumstances. Our customary reaction continues to be appropriate--if (a) the situation, or (b) the circumstances remain the same. But, when they haven't remained the same, yet when we react in

the same old way, we get wrong results--frustrating results, damaging results. And we suffer thus because we are entrapped by our past and our habits.

We escape from this entrapment, we become enfranchised, when we come to understand the changes that have taken place; the resulting discrepancy between our customary reactions--often emotional reactions--and what the changed situation and circumstances demand. We become fully enfranchised when we come to this understanding and then proceed to change our attitude and our actions in accordance with this new understanding. We are liberated!

With this word of explanation, let us return to the man who had protested "there is a fight still going on." As he left the last session, this member said gratefully; "Talk about entrapment and enfranchisement. You know--you have enfranchised me. In the days of violence, when Steel was being organized in our town, my father was killed at the picket line. This happened years ago. But my feelings then stirred up by my father's death have kept strong inside me. They have come in between me and situations I have to face now, in a different time, in changed conditions.

"I mean changed conditions between us and management. My old feelings of terror and hatred are no longer suited to the new conditions, the new problems I have to cope with. But I react in the same old way, and that's not good. I've been entrapped in feelings that are O.K. for something that happened in the past; but there are no longer justified for what is here now and what is ahead of us. This you have helped me see. Now that I see it I can cope with it. I already feel enfranchised. I am grateful."

Indeed, at the end of each of the two weeks, that summer, when we completed our experimental program in human values, I was much moved by the men's good-byes. As a teacher I was a battle-scarred veteran. For me, the bloom of youthful pedagogic idealism had long since rubbed off. And these were supposedly tough-minded and tough-hearted men, whose speech was occasionally coarse and whose jokes were sometimes crude. Yet I couldn't help being touched when one of the men would say: "Come and see us in our home town. I want my family to meet you. I want my friends to meet you. We need you there. You could do us a lot of good at home."

For me there could no longer be any question as to whether or not what I was doing with the experimental groups was worthwhile. My personal impressions confirmed the highly favorable evaluations given by the men themselves in their unsigned questionnaire responses. Emphatically, they called for more;

and this call constituted their stamp of approval. But, in giving my own estimate, let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to imply that, in terms of outright liberal education experience provided, I considered myself equally successful with each of the members of each group. What actually turned out to be the picture was rather like that of a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum were those in whom we did not actually generate any intrinsic liberally educative growth. Then there was a much larger number whom we did reach, substantively and methodologically. We gave the members of this group much fresh information that they accepted into their own psychic organisms; not infrequent fresh but partial and limited insights into literature, human values and the life of the mind, the cultural life. At the other end of the spectrum were those, again a few, say three out of four whom the week's program provided what might be called an intellectual, a cultural epiphany. In the best Newmanian sense, they experienced real intellectual illumination and enlargement, and, making up in intensity and vigor what they lacked in formal schooling and years of immersion in literature, they took a great leap forward both in their intellectual growth and in their competence in making further growth under their own power.

Yet, whether they were in the middle of the spectrum, or at one end or the other, they shared, most of them, a fresh awareness of what literary studies could mean for the experience of human values; and an enduring respect for the dignity of letters and the life of the mind. We could be reasonably confident that even those for whom the dynamic liberally educative potentials of the week had remained external, would not belittle one of their own children--daughter or son--who might wish to study literature or other humanities or fine arts.

Could one ask more of such a venture? Do we ask more of our semester-long courses in literature, in the humanities, when we have "regular classes," and when what we offer is designed, not for the few who are later to become specialists in the field, but for the many, regardless of their major or future field of vocational and civic endeavor? Are we not content, with such students in such classes, if we keep to a minimum those who resist all our efforts, if we keep some of the others from utter rejection through boredom, if we moderately engage the interests of most of the rest, if we really strike creative fire with the remaining very few? I believe that, in our moments of utter candor, this is what, conscientiously, devotedly, yet realistically, we are willing to settle for.

It was this sort of comprehensive assessment that made the efforts of the experimental, week-long program with the Penn State Steelworkers Institute so rewarding to me. In itself it was some of the hardest teaching I had ever tackled, in a teaching

career of more than thirty years, and with all sorts of levels of students, of all sorts of age groups.

It is time now to bring these discursive reminiscences to a close. Hopefully interesting in themselves, they have had an immediate and practical purpose. Negatively, they have been cited to refute the assertion I hear so often: if these workers get big chunks of leisure, all they will do, and all they can do is to kill time through beer and bowling or beer and boating or beer and T.V. Positively, the incidents herein recounted demonstrate an often unexpected, ignored, and undeveloped potential, in such men, for the enjoyment of literature, the fine arts and other humanities; for the liberal arts and sciences, for culture and the life of the mind.

They contribute, I hope, a persuasive documentation of my basic plea: The newly leisured many: let's not sell them short.

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A LIVE OPTION:

The Future of the Evening College

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PREFACE

Having to make guesses about the future is a hazardous undertaking, but the members of the AUEC/CSLEA Study Committee on Future Directions of the Evening College and the authors of the essays you are about to read were willing to take a risk. They wanted to come to grips with some of the hard questions with which all of us in the field of higher education must contend. The authors, in particular, had a tough job because they had to tear themselves away from dealing with the unresolved problems of today in order to write about solving the problems of tomorrow.

The authors discussed the future directions of the evening college with varying styles. McMahon and Matre, in particular, stick close to the realities of the present as they project their plans for the future. Daigneault roots his discussion of the problems of the evening college in the past and present while he calls for bold new approaches in the future. Lichtenstein is more inclined to build carefully the bridge from the present to a rather optimistic future. Stern is particularly speculative about the future, pointing out that while some things are bound to happen regardless of what we do, there are, nevertheless, a number of options that must not be overlooked.

Although each of us is apt to access the potential of the evening college differently, the critical fact remains that there are choices open to the evening college. These choices are live options — alive because the field of higher education is bursting with energy and life, and alive because we make them so as we struggle to provide the best educational opportunities possible for the learner whether he is a young, old, full or part-time, day or evening student.

As Chairman of the Committee whose work resulted in this publication I wish to commend the Association of University Evening Colleges and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults for taking the initiative and bringing before us these essays. They contain valuable analyses and insights, and they will help us to exercise our options with good sense, imagination and vigor.

Clifford L. Winters, Jr., Dean
University College, Syracuse University

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Publication

This volume grew from a project to explore future directions of the evening college. Undertaken jointly by the Association of University Evening Colleges and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, the project involved members of both AUEC and CSLEA in discussions of what might be done to examine more systematically factors relating to the purpose and future of the evening college.

In February, 1962, the AUEC-CSLEA Study Committee on Future Directions of the Evening College was set up with the following specific goals: to achieve greater awareness of the changes and trends in society that affect the tasks of institutions of higher education, and to develop a greater understanding of their implications for the institutions; to specify the responsibility of the urban university to provide educational programs directed toward these needs; and to propose new or modified educational forms to implement institutional objectives defined in the light of the challenges facing us in the decades ahead.

Ten individuals served on the Committee: the Reverend Richard T. Deters, S. J. of Xavier University; Brother Francis F. Emery, F.S.J. of La Salle College; Ralph C. Kendall of the University of Akron; Daniel R. Lang of Northwestern University; Richard A. Matre of Loyola University, Chicago; Ernest E. McMahon of Rutgers; The State University of New Jersey; Clifford L. Winters, Jr. of Syracuse University; and Kenneth Haygood, A. A. Liveright, and James B. Whipple of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

To provide a focus for examining the questions related to the future of the evening college, the Committee did three things. First, the Committee prepared a background statement on the problem. Sections of this statement relevant to this publication appear below. Second, the Committee sent the statement to members of AUEC asking them to comment generally on it, and to list three educational issues or problems they believe the evening colleges will have to cope with in the next few decades. The issues raised included a wide variety of problems, but the following three seemed to receive special emphasis:

1. Finding sufficient resources to meet the demands created by the increasing number of degree-seeking students and the increasing demands for non-degree adult education.
2. Bridging the gap between the specialist and the non-specialist as our society develops an even greater number of highly specialized occupations.

3. Developing new and successful programs which enable individuals to understand and deal with emerging problems of contemporary society, such as urbanization and automation.

Finally, the Committee invited five persons experienced in evening college work to prepare, for publication, essays expressing their ideas of ways to deal with the issues raised by the field and with the ideas developed in the background statement. The papers produced as a result of this invitation form this volume; the themes with which they deal are summarized in the last section of this introduction.

Excerpts From the Background Statement

On the Role of the Evening College

The evening college, as a relatively recent addition to universities, developed out of a need to serve adults who could not attend day-time classes. Although it has served its evening-class purpose admirably, the evening college still has a great but largely underdeveloped potential for serving many other areas of adult need. This would be true particularly if the college were to lay greater stress on its role as innovator of educational programs, thereby serving as the "cutting edge" for many university ventures. An evening college could become the primary place where new programs would be developed and tested. Those which proved to be worthwhile could become institutionalized in the evening college, or taken over by interested academic departments or non-university groups. The unsuccessful ventures could be laid aside with a minimum of administrative disruption, making way for new ventures. By emphasizing the evening colleges innovative potential and its pivotal position joining the university and the community, the university could work more effectively toward creating a dynamic inter-play between experimental programs in the evening college (designed to meet emerging and adult needs), and the more traditional programs based upon the university's regular day-time activities.

The universities of the nation remain one of the major resources for developing and extending knowledge, and knowledge alters the circumstances in which we live. Therefore, it is imperative that the university not only develop the means for storing and disseminating our traditional knowledge, but that it also develop the means by which creative and innovative programs can be offered to adults to meet their contemporary needs. In this way the university can help to provide the stable base on which we stand, while providing educational experiences which prepare us for the swift changes in man's environment today.

On Man's Changing Environment

The fusion of man's natural curiosity with the methods of scientific investigation, has produced a mushroom cloud of knowledge dramatically altering the environments of man. The fall-out effects of this explosion of knowledge descends on all the earth's inhabitants, though most noticeably among those in the industrially advancing societies.

Many of the adjustments man must make to the impact of science and technology are physiological and are brought on by industrial pollution in the form of smoke, dust, and smog; noise and congestion; communicable disease and the medicines used to combat them; insecticides and chemicals developed to increase food production; and the radioactive elements which are by-products of nuclear reaction.

Equally important, however, are the intellectual and psychological adjustments modern man must make in order to cope with his new environments; modern man must learn the use of increased leisure time, the distribution of work and its end products, and the development of governmental forms which are effective decision-making bodies capable of coping with emerging problems while at the same time assuring individual freedom.

The changed conditions created by the explosion of knowledge is best seen through a comparison between man in earlier eras and man today.

Yesterday's Man: Yesterday's man lived in the nineteen twenties, after the first world war and before the second. He lived in a world which placed an increasing emphasis on science. By and large it was a molecular world--and if he had a good high school education he probably understood it fairly well. Certainly he understood it if he had a college education. Elementary physics and chemistry and introductory college math were about all he needed. Einstein was probably over his head but one could operate without dealing with the theory of relativity. The social sciences were beginning to mature and to contribute to knowledge about individuals and society. Freud was around, but it was possible to operate without dealing with him too. That is, most Americans brought up their children, dealt with their neighbors and conducted business without reference to social science.

Yesterday's man lived in a semi-technical world. It was semi-technical only when compared to our own day. Technology provided him with a mass production, with elaborate machinery, automobiles, a variety of electrical equipment for office and home, and the radio. It made great inroads into the necessity for manual labor. It not only took less muscle but less labor to

produce more and more goods. The most significant fact about his technical world, however, was an aspect which made his technology partial -- it was man-controlled; by and large he understood and ran his machines. He would fix his automobile and many of the gadgets around the house. He understood the machinery in the factory, and the plant manager was familiar with the entire operation. The salesman too, often started in the factory and knew his product from the ground up.

He lived in a semi-rural world. As in the case of technology, it is necessary to modify the degree of ruralism. According to the U. S. Census, by 1920, more than half the population lived in urban areas. Nevertheless, there were fewer huge metropolitan complexes. Suburbs were often big towns accessible to the city rather than organized extensions of the city. When the mayor of Boston proposed that Concord -- some twenty miles from City Hall -- should be considered part of Greater Boston, the response was vehemently negative. In part, this represented a religious and ethnic bias; essentially, however, Concordians did not see themselves as part of an urban complex. The breadwinner might go to the city to work and the familiar urban problems and challenges were around for anyone who wanted to look for them. But most Americans remained basically agrarian in outlook and it was still possible to escape the urban influence.

He lived in the "new" world -- the western hemisphere. The adventure in saving the world for democracy was generally adjudged a disaster. We had learned our lesson and except for such economic or social intercourse as suited our own purposes, we came home from the war firmly prepared to turn our backs on Europe. The colonial peoples of Asia and Africa were not raising their voices with troublesome questions, we were sure all was "kaput" in Red Russia; and as for western Europe, we were interested only in repayment of the money they "hired."

Today's Man: The man of today must come to grips with a world which is changing rapidly and drastically. His world is dominated by science and technology. It is a world of nuclear physics and higher mathematics in which the old introductory education is insufficient and often outdated. The new science is needed not merely to understand the world around us but to run it. Science enables us to move off our own planet into outer space. It provides us with greater and greater control over life and death. It serves a technology based on a maze of mechanical, electronic brains which can store complicated instructions and execute them more efficiently and much more rapidly than the human brain. Behavioral and social sciences are also becoming more sophisticated and more complex. Concepts are not only more complicated, but used more in the management of our lives -- or the ways in which we are managed by others. These

developments are breath-taking interventions into the ways of "nature," but more significantly, they are beyond the ken of any single individual. Each of us can master only bits and pieces.

The man of today lives in an urban-industrial world. By 1960, our population had become 70% urban. Further, it has become increasingly difficult to escape the influence of the city. The relatively simple metropolitan area is being swallowed by complexes of cities covering vast regions and even crossing state lines. The area from Philadelphia to Boston is a case in point. Expenditures for all American municipalities have increased from \$9.9 billions in 1954 to \$15.2 billions in 1960, or more than 1% per year. These millions of dollars and thousands of man hours are needed to operate the modern city -- to deal with an endless range of problems and to make it a better, more comprehensible place in which to live. It is becoming impossible to escape the city. Mass media carry urban culture into every corner of the country, and highways and airways provide physical communication making no two points in America more than twenty-four hours apart.

The second World War shattered any illusions Americans may have held that we could live alone and like it. We have become part of the globe and the logic of events has dictated that we assume a position of leadership. This has meant relations not merely with Europe but with great regions of underprivileged peoples -- underprivileged economically, politically and socially -- underprivileged peoples on the march demanding rightly places in our world. Any attempt to deal with the new international issues would be difficult at best, but the problem has been complicated by the split between east and west and the obligation to provide leadership in a cold war directed toward maintaining a solid front for the non-communist world.

Putting flesh and blood on the men of yesterday and the man of today, we discover he is one and the same person. Older adults know yesterday from actual experience and younger adults were educated according to its life style.

In the twenties it was possible to come up with life styles which dealt with the practical issues of the time. More important, one generally found many others who agreed that the prevailing life style was both moral and useful. Furthermore, there was a degree of tolerance for other life styles permitting several to operate side by side.

When the man of today attempts to develop a life style appropriate for the modern world he faces many dilemmas. The style of his own past is inadequate. It is difficult to select an alternative which others will not brand as immoral and useless -- and there appears to be less tolerance for alternate life styles. The

intolerance is not exclusively a matter of bigotry. In the eighteenth century men could afford the luxury of permitting error and of a theory of trial and error in which errors did little harm and ultimately canceled each other out. Can we afford error in a nuclear age?

Part of the answer (and of the life style today) has been the development of specialists, not merely scientists but technicians for nearly every aspect of life. It takes an army of specialists to put a man into orbit in outer space. Increasingly we dare not put a child into orbit outside the home without assistance from another army of technicians who know more than the parent about one or another aspect of child rearing. But the training, or re-training, of men to suit one or another speciality is only part of the task -- and essentially the simplest part. We cannot exist fragmented and dependent on experts in a benevolent despotism of specialization. Since no man can master the whole, what happens to life style? What happens to the old ideal of a kind of generalist who somehow integrates the pieces? The present trend is toward a bureaucracy which provides a mechanism for the administration and integration of the parts. Yet the word is abhorrent to us because of its frightening implication for our freedom, our individuality and our life style inherited from the past.

These questions dealing with life style appropriate to our own time could be the major concern of university adult education. In one sense adult education is always remedial in that it educates men to deal with changes that occur after the completion of regular schooling. The significant difference for our own day is one of degree. The rapid and revolutionary changes make it impossible to wait for a new generation to come of age. One of the most vital challenges faced by the modern university is to educate the man of yesterday for today and tomorrow.

Major Themes in the Essays

In "Opportunity in Obsolescence," the first essay in the series, Richard A. Matre argues that the evening college as a separated and semi-isolated unit of the university is outmoded. According to the author the total university must recognize its obligation to the part-time student. To develop a sense of obligation and an understanding of the problems involved in part-time education, the total faculty and administration of the university must be convinced of the importance of the part-time student; it is the responsibility of evening college personnel to convince them.

But, Matre argues, even if the university does accept such an obligation, the evening college may become obsolete; providing higher education for part-time students cannot be the exclusive responsibility of a single division of the university. As the total

university assumes responsibility to serve the part-time student, the evening college may lose its pre-eminent role in this area. To Matre, however, this seems to be an opportunity not a problem. Although he feels there should be a division of the university responsible for courses and programs for part-time adults, Matre argues that the type of administrative arrangement is not the crucial question as long as such a division is an integrated and respected member of the university community. And once such a division is created by the university to fulfill its commitment to the part-time student, then many of the problems we now associate with evening college work can be resolved relatively easily.

Ernest E. McMahon deals essentially with the same problem as Matre, but his essay, "An End to Confusion," offers a different way out -- and in contrast to Matre's it is largely administrative. Reasoning from the perspective of a public university with large non-credit as well as credit enrollments, McMahon believes a major difficulty stems from confusing these two university obligations by regarding them as one and the same. He would eliminate the confusion by clearly separating credit and non-credit divisions. Thus, each division could have its own purposes and its ways to capitalize on university resources.

Unlike Matre, McMahon would not integrate the evening college into the total university. It would remain a distinct division devoted to credit education for part-time students. As such, however, he insists that a clear identification of purpose is the "key to survival." Thus McMahon tries to isolate factors that have led to confusion in the past about the evening colleges' purposes. Paramount among these factors is the term non-credit, an educational activity foreign to the American university structure. Other areas of the confusion arise from the role of the faculty in the evening college, the existence of a different set of regulations governing student status, and the relationship of the evening college to the total institution.

In his final section, McMahon describes a hypothetical university which views the evening college as an integral but distinct part of the total institution, and describes in simple terms its purposes, administrative arrangements, and the satisfying results which would flow from a situation in which confusion is eliminated and the evening college takes a position in the university on a par with other divisions.

Although this is primarily an essay about the evening college, it is crucial to McMahon's argument that his "composite university" accepts a responsibility for non-credit education centered in a division, which like the evening college, would operate as a separate division. This solution differs from Matre's in which

non-credit programs would be operated by the appropriate colleges or departments of the university.

In "Fiction and Fact about the Evening College," George H. Daigneault, unlike Matre and McMahon, does not propose administrative separation of credit and non-credit programs; however, he argues that the evening college of the future must place its emphasis on creative programs which break with academic tradition and which are largely non-degree. Fictions regarding students, faculty, curriculum and administration prevent progress, and Daigneault vigorously attacks these fictions as a necessary preliminary step to projecting new roles for the evening college.

Daigneault views the present situation of the evening college with dismay. As he describes the evening college "we have known" -- a description which will be disputed by many who are more sanguine than he -- Daigneault notes that evening colleges have shared a "sameness of efforts and narrowness of objectives... marked by unconscious drift rather than active direction, by imitation rather than by initiation," an approach which has most often led them to direct their efforts to purveying degree-oriented credit courses to part-time students, only ten per cent of whom actually receive the degree. Consequently, "the bulk of evening colleges are serving a fiction (the part-time degree student) at the risk of neglecting far more important educational priorities." The priorities are the educational needs of a great variety of adults who require continuing education of many kinds.

If it dares to remain "marginal," Daigneault believes, the evening college can respond flexibly to the educational demands of the "new human burdens and responsibilities which individuals have not faced in our society before." The evening colleges, he says, should not simply serve as brokers between the university and the community but should concern themselves with developing innovative and experimental means for effectively handling those educational problems which demand new solutions.

Present circumstances are propitious for evaluation and change in the evening colleges, Daigneault concludes, but, persisting with realism and candor to the final paragraph, he casts a shadow of doubt on whether there is enough imaginative and energetic leadership in the evening colleges to enable them to meet the challenges of the future.

H. Lichtenstein's essay, "Phoenix or Jay?," presents the problem of the evening college as a dilemma which must be faced by the dean or director. Like the other authors, he emphasizes that the evening college must be inextricably tied to its university. On the other hand he warns that complete identification can stifle

innovation by making the evening college so integrated that it is just like the rest of the university.

"Paradoxically," says Lichtenstein, "the institution's strong sense of involvement in continuing education could relegate the evening college to a lesser role in the total involvement (of the university) as other more central and more politically powerful branches of the institution take the commitment for their own, and leave the evening college in the position it has too often held -- that of follower and imitator." As such it would cease exercising its responsibility to develop education especially for adults.

Lichtenstein ends by answering questions raised by his colleagues -- and adds a few of his own on steering a middle road between administrative integration and creative programming for adults.

Milton R. Stern writes about "What Must be--And What Can Be." More than the other authors, Stern devotes space to presenting his own vision of the social milieu in which the evening college will operate in the future. This is what must be. What can be is an evening college such as is needed to operate in the new situation.

In essence, Stern speaks of the evening college as a flexible and useful part of the university which will become increasingly institutionalized into the total system of education, itself an increasingly prominent element in a highly bureaucratized society. His concern, however, seems to be less with the final form the evening college will take than with encouraging the release of creative energies to provide for emerging educational needs. His single intransigent demand is that the university remain independent, sanctioned by society to criticize and not be punished.

People in positions of control, like governors and administrators, "invent" the future, says Stern, and evening college administrators are among those who must now be busy inventing a future which will provide educational opportunities for adults during the rest of the century and beyond. And, because our knowledge is piecemeal, our actions can only be piecemeal, too. However, there is still plenty of room for creative action and the evening college can serve as a locus for such creativity.

OPPORTUNITY IN OBSOLESCENCE

by

Richard A. Matre¹

The future direction of the evening college is toward rapid obsolescence. The evening college, in my judgment, has seen its day — or is that a mixed metaphor? Its development in the twentieth century paralleled the social and economic growth of the United States. The eight-hour working day, the creation of an urban society, the advancement possible to those possessing degrees, the gradual enlightenment of the American masses, all contributed to the growth of that educational phenomenon, the evening college.

But what is an evening college? Is it not really a catchall term for some type of educational activity occurring in a building owned or leased by a college or university sometime after the College of Arts and Sciences has sent its students home? How can we discuss the future direction of the evening college when there are such divergent opinions as to what an evening college is? This educational organism developed in many different ways. It is difficult even today to describe a typical example. Anyone having a slight acquaintance with the field knows the variety of patterns that exist in such important areas as administrative jurisdiction, faculty acquisition, and student admission. About all that is common, therefore, is that there are students, teachers and an administration more or less in charge of various types of educational activity after hours. These hours may not always be restricted to the evening.

Now I will readily admit that educational philosophers, sociologists and other brands of idealists can describe the evening college in explicit terms with chapter and verse. Perhaps it is my training in history that limits my idealism. Historians are supposed to describe things as they are, rather than as they ought to be. To me there is no identifiable species of evening college. There are, rather, hundreds of educational endeavors loosely referred to by this frequently inaccurate term.

How then can one project the future of the evening college when one can neither define nor identify it in the present? The answer is simple. The evening college of the future is beyond the view of any of us. If we discard the notion that there is an answer to this question that can be verified in ten or twenty years, and, instead, try to project an ideal evening college as it should

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develop, then perhaps we may discover something of value for our future planning in the area of higher education for part-time students.

These few words, "higher education for part-time students," provide the key to the future of the evening college, whatever form it may have at present. This is why I began by saying the evening college is headed towards obsolescence. It is time to get away from the following notions that enjoy currency in some collegiate circles:

1. That part-time students be limited to classes in the evening, or on Saturday, or in the early morning before going to work.
2. That adults be segregated from typical day-college students.
3. That full-time college students be forbidden to attend courses for part-time adults.
4. That the typical American evening college student has a substantially different learning process from his brother or sister in the day college.
5. That the best teachers of evening college students are other than the best day faculty.
6. That there is some magic benefit that comes from a separation of day and evening requirements, teachers, department chairmen, and university service offices.
7. That credit -- or non-credit -- courses do not meet the needs of adults.
8. That the best way to operate an evening college is to have autonomy from the other colleges in the university.

There are many more myths that could be added to this litany, but time and space provide limiting factors. What I am saying is that the future evening college will not be an evening college at all. It will be an organization designed to bring the resources of the university to that portion of the public which is unable or unwilling to attend collegiate level programs on a full-time basis. This seems to me to be the logical and historical outgrowth of the evening college movement as it is developing. But it can never be forgotten that the evening college has developed and will continue to develop in the context of the entire university.

So it is not the evening college alone that must find resources to meet rising demands for credit and non-credit programs. It is not the evening college alone that must bridge the gap between the specialist and the non-specialist. It is not the evening college alone that must develop programs to meet contemporary social needs. It is rather the entire university that must deal with these problems that have been identified as major areas of crisis for the evening college. In fact, I submit that the evening college cannot begin to solve these problems without calling upon the resources of the university for assistance. The evening college must first of all make friends and allies out of some of its chief critics and adversaries — its own university confreres. It simply will not get anywhere without them.

I can already hear the cries of my colleagues in the evening college world. Some will consider me traitorous for even suggesting the abolition of the evening college in favor of the part-time division offering courses and programs whenever adults can attend them. Others will classify me as visionary when I say that I do not care who runs the college so long as it meets the needs of its society. Still more will say that it is impossible to get the proper cooperation from day colleges and day departments to do our job well. How often have I heard evening deans claim that their daytime colleagues just do not understand the problem.

The answer is hard, but to me it is essential. They must be made to understand the problems of the part-time student, or the university will fail in its obligation. If the university fails in this area, the evening college cannot go on alone. We have but to look around us today for examples of this lack of rapport. If the evening college is to have a responsible and meaningful future direction in these days of burgeoning enrollments and faculty shortages, those convinced of the validity and importance of its mission must be sure that they have first converted their own faculty and administration. Without them there is no future.

So much for generalities. Let us take the specific items that must be strengthened if we are to project the future evening college as I have defined it. In other words, my position is that thought and effort must be given to abolition of the faculty notions mentioned earlier. In this direction lies the future of the evening college. When it becomes an integrated and respected member of the university community, only then will it be able to play a full role in the development of American society.

1.

The first tradition that must be reconsidered is the limitation of part-time students to evening classes. Adults today find

the demands of employment much too varied to allow many of them to attend classes only from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. Why should not a student be permitted to attend a course in the morning or early afternoon if his job requires his time later? The future part-time division of the university must develop ingenuity in placing its students in courses and programs that fit the complex patterns of today's economic environment.

Obviously this scheduling cannot be done without close cooperation between the various university jurisdictions. Progress in breaking out of the six to ten o'clock in the evening pattern is already visible in many areas. "Evening" colleges have frequently used the Saturday morning and afternoon hours to bring their programs to students unable or unwilling to attend night classes. Changing urban and suburban patterns have likewise dictated the move to Saturday. Many adults who find it difficult or impossible to attend classes in the evening can come to the college on Saturday, find adequate parking, arrive fresher of mind than after a full day of work, and have time to browse in the library or view an art exhibit while on the campus. A young mother with children can take advantage of her husband's presence as babysitter to continue her education on Saturdays. In short, the part-time division of the university must be conscious of the needs of its community and be willing to adjust to them. This requires both research and imagination.

2.

The second myth that needs exploding is the one that requires the segregation of adult students into classes containing only adults. There is no evidence that part-time adult students interfere with the learning process of full-time day collegians. In addition to offering classes for part-time students at times other than the evening hours, there is no good reason why part-time students cannot take advantage of classes offered by the full-time day divisions. If policies of admission are a problem, they can be solved by identical or equivalent admission standards for both part-time and full-time students.

3.

Obviously the reverse of this is true as well. The evening college should welcome the enrollment, where space permits, of full-time day students whose schedules, needs or wishes incline them towards a class or classes in the evening. If our evening classes are as good as we say, these students will benefit by attending them. An evening college dean who helps solve some of the problems of the day division deans is acting in a professional manner as a responsible university official. I am sure that he will find this cooperation beneficial to his cause, and, more important, to his evening students, who will thus be drawn more

closely into the structure of the total university.

What I have really tried to say in both 2 and 3 is that all qualified students, day and evening, full-time and part-time, should have equal access to the resources of the total university. The evening college of the future will be a mixture of full-time and part-time students; students seeking credit and students attending on a non-credit basis; those fresh from high school and those beyond middle age, with the majority in the twenty to thirty year group. Higher education must make itself available to all of the groups in the community who can profit from it. Arbitrary division into day and evening will grow more meaningless as time goes on. It must be remembered that individuals, not groups, are the actual recipients of education. Learning is, after all, a personal process. What is acquired is certainly not less important than how.

4.

In some ways the eight concepts that I have marked for extinction are closely interrelated. Their unity springs from the fact that they all affect the student being educated. Where learning takes place? When? How? At what cost? Under whose jurisdiction? With what facilities? All these ultimately focus on the individual who seeks higher education. It would be a catastrophe to see the evening college of the future lose its rather unstructured mission of providing meaningful learning to part-time students in return for the power, prestige, and false respectability that many adult educators seem to seek for their empires. It is much more important to keep our sights focused on the students who need our resources rather than to establish sterile and meaningless structures whose organization is ideal, whose administrators are important, whose boundaries in time and space are well-defined, but within which the genuine needs of the part-time students are not met adequately.

For a long time we have heard of the differences in learning process between adults and traditional daytime undergraduates. This controversy has muddled the waters of evening college education for about fifteen years. We have been told that adults learn differently; that they should be taught differently; that special programs of an imaginative and challenging nature be designed for them alone; and that those evening colleges who were not courting-out on this great new sea of adult needs were unimaginative, reactionary, and, worst of all, downright dull.

Now if we are going to develop an evening college of the future that will have the sufficient resources we need, that will bridge the gap between specialist and non-specialist, and, most important, will be genuinely effective in meeting contemporary social needs, we are going to have to take a long hard look at the

students who are flooding our facilities. I have no quarrel with the fact that those thirty-five years of age and above have different needs in general than those between seventeen and twenty-three who make up the traditional college undergraduate age group. I am aware of the studies in this area made by various people. I know that older adults are less career-oriented and more culture-conscious. I have become convinced that younger students are more degree-credit concerned than are mature adults. Any objective analysis of trends and needs will bear out the differences between these two groups.

But the thrust of my argument is that the vast majority of evening colleges are currently employed in the important and challenging task of providing educational opportunities for students in the same general age range as the day undergraduates. By this I mean that the typical evening college student is closer to twenty-one than he is to thirty-five. His needs are more closely identified with the day college student than with those of the more mature adult. The evening college of today must awaken to this fact if it is to be effective tomorrow. Its needs, its problems, its potential, its resources are more closely associated with those of its daytime collegiate brethren than some adult educators may wish to concede. The administrator of tomorrow's evening college will, in my opinion, be more at home at a meeting of the American Council on Education or the American Historical Association than he will be at a meeting of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. Please understand that I have nothing against A.E.A., nor any organization concerned with adult education. Their concerns are rightly with older adults. Evening college programs will remain principally with the seventeen to thirty age group. The future will see an increase in the attendance of younger students in collegiate programs on a part-time basis. I predict that the average age will drop to around twenty-two as the post-war birthrate boom arrives at college age during the late 1960's and 1970's. Evening college educators must plan for these students whose learning process is identical to their more affluent brothers and sisters in the day colleges.

Does this mean that we are to throw out of our classrooms those serious, hard-working, mature adults whose attendance has been constant through the decades? Of course not. Those who profess to worry about evening students being engulfed by adolescents are selling short one of the great commodities of the evening college movement: its imaginative and resourceful administrators. It is pointless for professional educators to become embroiled in fruitless wrangles over which dean runs the facilities after five o'clock, or whether young students should be barred so that older ones may attend.

The future evening college must admit all students who can benefit from its offerings and who measure up to whatever admission policies it has thoughtfully and scientifically determined upon. Age should have no bearing; just as sex, race, religion are of no concern. Who is the administrator omniscient enough to determine that this eighteen-year old student should be prohibited from attending a college so that this retired executive may enroll, unless objective factors distinct from age are identified? The college must exist for the benefit of all who are able to profit from it. Any other position seems untenable in our free society. Emotional pleas for the preservation of privileged status for groups of old friends of the Dean are out of place in an institution that professes to exist for the good of its community. Simply stated, tomorrow's university must find resources and facilities to provide opportunities for all post-high school adults. This is what today's administrators should be striving for, rather than fighting a losing battle to keep younger undergraduates out of the evening college.

5.

Let us turn now to the most important problem facing the evening college as it considers its future direction. The acquisition, development and retention of qualified faculty must be the most pressing concern of all who are devoted to the education of part-time students within the context of the college or university. A great amount of water may have flowed over the dam since the day of Mark Hopkins on the log, but there is as yet no acceptable substitute for a human teacher. True, he may be aided by all the trappings of a scientific, electronic, transistorized society. But mind must communicate with mind if the present generation is to pass on the cultural, scientific, and historical heritage of the past to the generations of the future. If the present is merely the fleeting instant at which point the future becomes the past, then the function of the teacher is to try to prevent the unknown future from overwhelming man before he can take strength from the past.

The essential educational activity of any college is the communication between a teacher and his student. Strange as it may sound to those outside of educational circles, this simple truism needs repetition among the purveyors of higher education in the United States and Canada. The sole reason for the existence of presidents, vice-presidents, deans, counselors, admissions officers, registrars, public relations officials, development officers, maintenance crews, and the dozens of other administrative and secretarial staff members in today's college or university is to provide a meeting ground between a teacher and his students. Sometimes this primary function gets lost, or at least obscured, in the over-complicated structure of the institution. We can become so engrossed in "meeting the needs of the community"

that we lose track of what is occurring in the classroom. This is especially apparent when deans, directors, and department chairmen consider their recruitment task completed when every course has a teacher who meets his classes on time, does not dismiss the students early, turns in absence reports faithfully, and reports his grades to the registrar on the proper machine-processed forms.

Frankly, it is easy to succeed in evening college faculty recruitment if the criteria are that simple. Most evening colleges are located in urban areas where there exists an abundance of formally educated men and women anxious for the satisfaction of college-level teaching, but unwilling or unable to make the sacrifices of effort, time, income, or self-denial requisite to embracing this career as a total commitment. There are others who simply wish to supplement their incomes by teaching. In neither of these categories am I attempting to downgrade or derogate part-time faculty. Many of them are superior in knowledge and/or communication skills to the best full-time teachers obtainable. The university of today could not function without part-time teachers. The college of tomorrow will rely on them in increasingly greater numbers. The dedication and loyalty to the university of many of our part-time teachers surpasses that of large numbers of the ranked faculty. But one cannot ignore the importance of the professional scholar to the advancement of science and the communication of knowledge.

The full-time college professor whose life is dedicated to the free and unhampered communication of truth is the cornerstone on which the institution must build. To operate a college of the university without his presence, or at least his influence, is to settle for mediocrity or worse. The best teachers are usually those who devote their full time to teaching. The best teachers in the college of liberal arts, or the school of business administration, or law, or education, or engineering are usually the best teachers in the evening college as well. Individuals may be hired to teach on a part-time basis from business, the professions, or industry whose competencies exceed anyone on the staff. But they seldom can be relied upon for the planning, direction, continuity and shared responsibility for educational progress that the evening college must sustain.

There is much more that should be said on the subject of teachers of the part-time students in the college of the future. The real issue, however, is one of life or death for the evening college, if not for the university itself. The evening college administrator must join his colleagues in the other divisions of the university in attempting to solve the problem of securing faculty. If he agrees that the entire institution's future rests on the competence of its teaching faculty, then he cannot permit the university to fail to meet its obligation to make its best faculty

available for the part-time, as well as for the full-time students. He should not have to hold out inducements of additional remuneration for overload teaching to obtain a tenured faculty member's services.

In this area of faculty acquisition, concessions to the thinking of university circles outside of the evening college must be made if the evening college, as I have projected it, is to succeed in the future. If the part-time division cannot obtain the services of full-time faculty as a part of their regular teaching load, then the university should not pretend that the degree courses offered in the evening are the same as those in the day. If the full-time teacher is convinced that evening students are inferior academically to those on whom he can better expend his energies in the daytime, then the evening college must either raise its standards of admission to those of the day school, or convince the teacher that his interpretation is incorrect. This latter cannot be done effectively by emotional appeals to his better nature. It usually requires statistical information. The evening college of the future must be able to produce significant internal research in all areas of student achievement to justify its claims on shrinking numbers of qualified faculty.

This problem of acquiring full-time faculty of the highest quality to teach the students in the part-time college of tomorrow must be viewed and approached realistically. The future direction of the evening college depends on the solution of this problem more than on any other. Cooperation among the colleges of the university must be improved. Those charged with the administration of the evening college must become enlightened on this subject. They must convince the administrations of their institutions that their claims on the best faculty are valid. If they cannot, then the part-time division should not trade on the good reputation of the entire university. A competent, professionally-aware evening college dean should not waste his career on an institution that does not recognize its own part-time college as an integral, important, respectable member of its university.

6.

Some of the spokesmen for the evening college have so stressed the distinctions between part-time and full-time students that we tend to forget that there are more similarities than differences. This subject has been treated earlier from one point of view, but there are certain other aspects to be noted. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of curricula, for example, but many experienced evening college administrators have pointed out that "special" requirements for the part-time student are not based upon a realistic appraisal of the age, intellectual capacity, or desire of the typical evening

student. To automatically rule out the standard daytime curriculum as unimaginative, or unchallenging, or contrary to the needs of evening students requires an omniscience that few possess. If evening college administrators attended and participated in meetings of higher education groups that study and do research on curricula, they might not be so narrow in their seeming rejection of traditional curricular patterns.

The future direction of the evening college is toward common, albeit flexible, curricula. The evening dean or director has the responsibility — again based upon solid research and statistics, not on his intuition — of being the spokesman in his university for whatever differing characteristics are possessed by the part-time students. It is in the institution's curriculum committee that the evening student's case should be presented for a possible variation in requirements. It is here that reasonable men should be able to resolve conflicting viewpoints, if any. If the evening college dean cannot convince a few intelligent colleagues of the validity of his needs, how can he expect the student who graduates from an evening college to convince employers, peers, and society in general of the equality of his education?

As must be evident to even the casual reader, I have no patience with those who wish to have separate departments for day and evening students, separate admissions offices, separate registrars, or separate anything. The evening college — the part-time division — is a part of the entire institution. It should be treated as such. Its students should be entitled to all the services of the university from athletics to placement. If this presents a financial problem to the school, then the part-time tuition should be increased, or fees should be charged for university services on a comparable basis to full-time costs. Quality education, whether tax-supported or not, is a costly operation. Part-time students should not be subsidized any more than are full-time. But the university should provide a complete college program for all students to whom it is offered.

7.

The future direction of the evening college, in my opinion, is toward more credit programs leading to a degree. These credit programs will be offered mornings, afternoons, evenings, and Saturdays to students as young as seventeen and as old as seventy. The largest group will probably range between twenty and twenty-five years. These students are adults and they will be enrolled in programs that will be meeting their needs. Most of them will be attempting to qualify for college degrees. (The fact that many will not complete an entire degree program is not relevant.)

I also believe that non-credit courses and programs are here to stay. I believe they will increase in numbers, especially where their content draws more specifically on the resources of university departments. This means that a non-credit course in existential philosophy offered by a regular faculty member is more appropriate to a college than a six-week session in understanding bridge. I have no objection to bridge courses, I simply happen to think that some organization other than a college is better suited to offer them.

It is time to declare a moratorium in the credit versus non-credit battle. To say that a credit program does not meet adult needs is as idiotic as to say that a non-credit program can satisfy all adult needs. Both sides of this controversy are in error when they attempt such broad generalizations. Different students obviously have different needs. For some it must be credit courses leading to a degree; for others it can be courses of a less traditional pattern. No one can say it is wrong for an evening college to do either, or both. Each institution must determine its own objective in this area, but, again, the evening college program should be planned and guided by university people, familiar with the total resources of the institution and possessed of enough authority to command them.

For reasons that I have explained earlier, it is my personal opinion that the demand for faculty is going to pose a serious problem to the future evening college credit program. In this area, where academic credentials are more necessary than in a non-credit program, the evening college administrator is going to have to convince his institution of the validity of his claims on faculty. In non-credit programs there will be more room to maneuver. It is my considered opinion that the future will see two patterns emerge, one in credit programs; the other in non-credit. The evening college of today with a well-articulated academic degree program, with close liaison between day and evening colleges, with an adequate share of full-time faculty, will in the future become the leader among its contemporaries. It will emerge as a strong factor in the higher education process. The evening college which does not already possess these features will have a difficult time surviving. In my judgment, today's evening colleges will not be here in the future — and I am referring to those offering credit programs — if in 1964 their curricula are only vaguely related to those of the day colleges; if their teachers are not closely identified with the regular university departments; if their admission policies have no relationship to those generally agreed upon in academic circles for college entrance or transfer.

At the same time I believe that the development of non-credit programs will face a somewhat similar future. The competition for educational resources, both space and faculty, will

tend to eliminate non-credit programs that do not draw upon the existing strengths of the college or university. Programs that could easily be offered by some other community organization will disappear from institutions of higher education. But the rising educational level of the nation will produce a greater demand for courses and programs of a higher intellectual and cultural content. Those institutions that have followed this trail will become vital elements in the continuing education of adults.

What I have attempted to indicate in this section is that the credit versus non-credit argument should be eliminated completely. The needs of adults are varied and complex. It is pointless to try to decide which type is more important. My contention is that the part-time student who seeks a degree program needs the best one that can be devised. The best ones are those that combine the resources of the entire university in a professional manner to achieve optimal results. Why should an evening college which hopes for a future settle for less?

On the other hand, I would prefer to talk of non-credit education as continuing education designed primarily for those whose educational level is at least on a par with college graduates. Collegiate continuing education should be for those who seek to develop themselves into more complete human beings, or who need to grow professionally in order to make a greater contribution to society, or for those who seek deeper meaning for their lives, or who need help in facing the new problems of our society. Such programs will require the best efforts of the institution's finest minds. They are appropriate to higher education alone. The continuing education program of a college or university should not be in competition with other levels of adult education. No institution of higher education will in the future be able to dissipate its limited resources in peripheral activities that have little or no relation to its own departmental organization.

8.

The final myth that should be laid to rest is the notion that the best way to operate an evening college is to have autonomy from the other colleges in the university. Of course this is essentially a semantics problem. Those who say this do not always mean it as it is interpreted. I would prefer to re-word it so that the evening (part-time) college has at least as much autonomy as the liberal arts college, or the school of business, or education. We in evening colleges need cooperation and understanding more than we need autonomy. Some of the most autonomous operations in the country have been the first to face oblivion.

All that has been said in the preceding seven sections has reference to this eighth and final point which is concerned with who runs the evening college. Let me state it simply and pre-

cisely: I do not care who runs the evening college so long as those who seek its programs are given the best the university can offer. This is the essential element whether the course is credit or non-credit. Whether the evening dean is responsible to a day dean or not is actually irrelevant. Perhaps the day dean has a better grasp of educational policy than any evening administrator available. The students and faculty in such an evening college might profit from such a lack of autonomy. In short, the focus must be on the educational process, not on the administrative structure. Any pattern that assures the student of the best education possible is the one to be supported.

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My colleagues in this project will doubtless present viewpoints far different from mine. George Daigneault, Hyman Lichtenstein, Ernest McMahon, and Milton Stern are names to strike fear into the heart of any evening college administrator who would differ with their analyses of future directions. I am honored to be called upon for a contribution to this symposium. The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is to be congratulated for providing its ever-present needle to prod us evening deans into trying to state clearly what philosophies we hold amid the complex and variegated tasks of operating evening college programs. Oftentimes we are so involved in administrative urgencies that we have little opportunity to step aside for a moment and view what we are trying to do. The Center has needed and cajoled us into doing just this. If what I have written is totally rejected by the world of higher education, I am nevertheless indebted to the Center for making me put in writing what they have feared I was saying these last dozen years or so.

AN END TO CONFUSION

by

Ernest E. McMahon¹

Evening college deans and directors today are concerned as never before with the future of the evening college, and there is probably a greater need for evening college people to look ahead than there is for most other administrators of academic enterprises. The need arises in three sources. One of the sources consists of the three problems cited by the evening college officers in their replies to inquiries from the AUEC-CSLEA² Committee on the future of the evening college, namely, (1) finding sufficient resources to provide both credit and non-credit programs in the face of rising demands, (2) bridging the gap between the specialist and the non-specialist, and (3) developing new programs which are effective in meeting contemporary social needs. Another source, not mentioned recently, is the confusion of self-concept which still exists in the evening college field. The third, and seldom mentioned, source is the simple matter of survival.

Possibly the underlying reason why the evening college people are so concerned with looking ahead is that the evening college too frequently has been a child of expediency with a program of course offerings based upon the capabilities of the budget rather than upon a philosophy of part-time college education for the adult. The chief criterion of success has been one of financial self-sufficiency attained by large enrollments, low teaching costs, and a minimum of student services such as counseling and emergency medical care.

Such a condition, with due recognition of the dangers of oversimplification, has caused today's deans and directors to reach almost a consensus with respect to the three issues mentioned above: identification of resources, elimination of the gap between specialist and non-specialist, and development of new and imaginative programs for adults. The same condition obscures the underlying causes of confusion and the threat to survival.

The future of the evening college in America must rest upon educational purpose and not upon financial self-sufficiency. It must be concerned with quality of instruction and not with part-time instruction for the sake of the budget. It must provide

¹ Dean, University Extension Division, Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey.

² The Association of University Evening Colleges and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

student services consistent with student needs, and its enrollments must be based upon institutional criteria and not upon income. The three issues set forth by the deans and directors are not peculiar to the evening college movement; they are common to all facets of higher education throughout the world. The issues are more apparent to the evening college deans because of the other threats which are peculiar to the evening college movement — confusion and survival.

There is no doubt that the financial base may be the determinant for long range planning; all planning must be realistic. It is possible, also, that the fiscal structure may remain unchanged for some time for very pragmatic reasons. The American university, which has never had enough dollars to meet its social responsibilities, has yet to recognize the education of the adult as a responsibility equal to that of educating the adolescent undergraduate or the quasi-adolescent graduate student. The problem really is not one of "primary" responsibility, but, rather, parity among responsibilities. Undergraduate instruction may once have claimed priority in American higher education, but the modern university has managed to blend undergraduate instruction, graduate study, and faculty research into a trinity in which no priority can be discerned. To date, however, the education of the adult has not created a quadrumvirate.

What the pressures of modern society and technology will do cannot be forecast with exactness. It is encouraging that historical evidence records the elevation of graduate study and research to an equal level of eminence with instruction of full-time undergraduates. Hopefully, the pressures of professional obsolescence, of automation and the resultant disemployment, and of a rising educational level will bring the evening college to the same plateau. It is with such an accomplishment in mind that the AUEC has asked for the current collection of essays. This particular essay is the author's estimate of what must be done by the evening colleges of America to attain the parity they seek in the academic community and, indeed, to survive. If they survive and attain parity, they will contribute significantly to the solution of the three problems which concern them.

Educational Purpose

The threat to survival comes from the "extension" of the day programs into the evening to enable the enrollment of larger numbers of full-time undergraduate students. Obviously, such an extended use of the physical plant is attractive in the face of rising enrollment pressures coupled with companion rising costs of land acquisition and building.

The first determination which must be made, if the evening college is to have a chance, has to do with the educational purpose

of the evening college. It is not enough to rest on the cliché that the evening college "meets the needs of the adults in the community." Needs must be met in accordance with some educational philosophy, in the framework of some set of objectives, in accordance with some set of institutional policies because the evening college is a part of a university, part of an institution of higher education.

When the evening college has no set of objectives it becomes merely a mechanical device for the random offering of courses when the physical plant is not otherwise in use — i.e., in the evening. The condition invites invasion of the evening hours by a lengthened day program.

Further, without purpose, there is some question about the kinds of resources which need to be found to satisfy what kinds of demands; some question about how to attempt to bridge the gap between specialist and non-specialist; some question about what kinds of new programs to develop to meet contemporary social needs. In other words, without a clear-cut concept of purpose, the evening college remains unequipped to undertake the solution of the three problems set forth by the deans and to defend its own survival.

The Basic Need

The identification of purpose not only is the key to survival and the solution of the three problems but also is the key to meeting the basic need of the evening college, which is clarification of its very nature and function. The confusion which exists in the evening college movement is typical but unnecessary.

The evening college had its boom in the years immediately after World War II, when a combination of circumstances provided an increased and highly-motivated student body. Young men had had their normal educational progression interrupted; they had the G.I. bill; they also had families; they had accumulated in numbers over a four-year period; they turned to the evening college as part-time students. Enrollments swelled, and new evening colleges came into existence, and all of them enjoyed strong financial positions within their institutions. By a combination of filled classrooms, the omission of expensive science and humanities courses, and utilization of large numbers of underpaid part-time teachers the evening college was described as self-supporting. In such a situation variety and variation were rampant. The unseen difficulty was the introduction and perpetuation of variety and variation without purpose.

Early in that boom period, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults probed at the purpose of the evening college and, in due course, published a significant volume in

which the point was made that there was no concept of the evening college.¹

Two years later John Dyer produced the first book about the evening college movement, and his analysis of the situation reinforced the Center staff's conclusions. Dyer said "there are at least five different evening college movements."²

If there is no concept of the evening college, and if careful analysis results in a classification of five different evening college movements, it obviously becomes difficult to obtain support either from inside or outside the academic community. As a first step toward obtaining the resources which are necessary for the future, regardless of direction, the basic and inescapable need appears to be the elimination of confusion with respect to the nature and the mission of the evening college. Further, the clarification must occur first within the academic world so that the nation's educational leaders may be able to explain the role and set forth the needs of the evening college to the lay sources of support, both private and public.

Credit and non-credit: It is probable that the technical, commerce, and liberal arts categories set forth by Dyer cause little confusion in the local situations in which the programs are offered. Even the multidimensional may cause little confusion in most instances, but the injection of the non-credit category into what is called a college is foreign to the American university structure. The CSLEA identified the conflict between the day liberal arts tradition and the adult education movement as the source of confusion -- another way of saying the difference between credit and non-credit instruction.

As pointed out in another reference, the term non-credit is confusing in its own right because there are at least four different accepted meanings for the term. Among evening colleges non-credit may mean any of the following: 1) a student who does not want credit; 2) a student who can not qualify for credit; 3) a student in a non-credit course; 4) a student who intends to enroll in a credit status but who has not filed admissions credentials yet.³

¹ Patterns of Liberal Education in Nine University Evening Colleges. (Chicago: CSLEA, 1952), p. 10.

² John Dyer, Ivory Towers in the Market Place, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954, p. 29.

³ Ernest E. McMahon, The Emerging Evening College, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1960, p. 69.

Why is it confusing to merge credit and non-credit in educational programs for adults who admittedly need both kinds of instruction and both kinds of enrollment opportunities? The most likely answer is that usage is what determines the meaning of words, and the word college has a meaning in its relationship to higher education in America. That meaning stems from the usage of the man in the market place as well as the man in the ivory tower. That usage includes a formal organization of course work, or independent study, or tutoring, or examinations — or a combination of them and their many variations — into a framework which enables the student to "meet the degree requirements." To make it possible for the student to exchange his efforts and accomplishment for the degree, the academic world has created the wampum of credit. As a result, the college professor, the philanthropist, and the man in the street relate credit to college.

Consequently, there is a general notion of a college. Although liberal arts colleges differ, mention of the term brings to mind a degree-granting institution or branch of the university which offers credit courses to qualified applicants who earn baccalaureates. When one mentions a college of engineering or a college of agriculture, a generalized image comes to mind. But when one mentions an evening college, only questions come to mind.

Faculty: Further, the academic community takes great pride (be it real or false) in the validity of its credits. There are state accrediting agencies, regional accrediting agencies, and professional accrediting agencies. Yet all of them are ineffectual unless the institutional faculty sets and maintains standards. The evening college, in any attempt to defend its standards undertakes the defense in most instances with a major handicap because the evening college has no faculty. The issue of standards is a real one, related especially to survival and to the acquisition of resources, and it was most cogently expressed by Ewald B. Nyquist when he accused the evening colleges of "soft pedagogy."⁴

Although more than twelve years have elapsed since Nyquist made his charge, there is still a widespread feeling, both on and off the campus, that the standards of the evening college are lower, that concessions are made because the students are tired after a long day's work, that part-time teachers don't exact student performance comparable to that demanded by the full-time scholar. The danger lies not in the truth or falsity of the belief but in its widespread existence under a set of circumstances which render the evening college impotent to mount a

⁴ Ewald B. Nyquist in Proceedings. (Atlanta: Association of University Evening Colleges, 1952), p 60.

defense. Since the faculty members are the makers and the guardians of standards, the so-called college without a faculty is in a weak position if not in a completely defenseless one. Because it has no faculty, the evening college program is suspect within the parent institution.

Second, faculties do certain things to reinforce their own efforts to set standards in the classroom. They establish institutional entrance requirements of a qualitative and quantitative nature. They require students to maintain a level of performance or to withdraw. CSLEA's statement of confusion resulting from a conflict of traditions remains pertinent. In adult education, as generally defined, entrance requirements are anathema. The cliché of adult education is that "you take the students where they are," and there is no justification for formal entrance requirements and prerequisites. Unfortunately for the evening college, in its role as an educator of adults, the other colleges of the parent university do require the applicant to satisfy specific criteria for admission. The evening college is the only college of the institution which has two kinds of students: those who meet institutional requirements for matriculation and those who don't. In adult education programs generally, the student is not dropped by formal action; it is assumed that he who finds attendance unprofitable will withdraw. Again, unfortunately for the evening college, it is probably the only college within the parent institution which does not require all of its students to maintain an acceptable academic record.

The existence of a different set of regulations governing student status is not the sole problem. There frequently is wide variation among the requirements of different colleges within a university. The existence of the variation is a problem, it is true, but, even more importantly, the evening college variations have not been authorized and are not controlled by a faculty. Thus the evening college becomes a double loser. It has no faculty to defend its program, thus its departures from the academic norm are a result of administrative decisions rather than faculty review.

Finally, the content of a course is the responsibility of the instructor, and traditionally the responsibility has been that of the professional scholar. In the academic areas in which practitioners constituted the early faculties, such as law and medicine, there has been the development of the full-time faculty. In the American university system, the evening college remains the last major outpost of the part-time teacher. As will be mentioned later, the evening college probably will continue to hold that outpost position, but there must be steps to allay the fears of the professional scholar. The professor is concerned most directly with his own courses and his own department, but what happens elsewhere in the institution reflects upon his

professional status. Consequently, the university's faculty members are concerned about, and distrustful of, large numbers of courses which are not the responsibility of other professional scholars.

The faculty constitutes, as does the credit structure, part of the fabric of a college. The other colleges have faculties, but the evening college has no faculty. Couple the absence of a faculty with the presence of non-credit students and non-credit courses, and the evening college becomes less of a college by the yardstick of usage.

The issue: The quality of evening college instruction is not under examination. The issue is the need to end the confusion which exists both on and off-campus with respect to evening colleges, and the preceding problems of non-credit instruction and lack of faculty organization have been cited as two major causes of the confusion. In a collegiate world which deals in credit as the transferable and measurable commodity and which vests academic control in the hands of a faculty, a university branch which deals in non-credit and which has no faculty falls short of meeting the test of usage to be called a college. What then is the evening college? The question may be unpleasant but it evidently is inescapable, as both CSLEA and John Dyer found.

The first problem cited by the deans and directors was the very pragmatic one of locating additional resources. Until the confusion is dispelled, the evening colleges won't get the resources they need because no university president can ask for support for the evening college when no one knows what he is talking about.

As stated earlier, the end of confusion is the basic need, and an attack upon confusion is not a plea of guilty to charges of soft pedagogy nor is it a suggestion that adult needs be ignored. An attack upon confusion is simply an effort to suggest at least one way in which the three problems raised by the deans and directors may be met so that the evening colleges may survive and move forward.

How to Chart the Course

Before any decisions can be made about the route to be followed, it is necessary to know where the evening college is going and from where it is starting. Where it is going becomes a function of its educational purpose. Indeed, in view of the existing confusion, even its starting point may not be obvious, and a reassessment of purpose may be necessary.

An Institutional Approach

Every evening college is part of another institution of higher education. It may be a division of a college or it may be a college of a university, but the evening college does not stand alone or exist in an institutional vacuum. Frequently, the evening college has tended to function semi-independently of the parent institution. There may have been good reason for autonomous action at times, but the fact of institutional membership is inescapable.

Consequently, the first step in formulating a statement of purpose for the evening college is to reach agreement upon the university's mission in the education of the part-time adult student. Until there is a total institutional understanding of the role of adult, or continuing, or part-time, or evening, or what-you-will education in contemporary society, the evening college will continue to encounter the difficulties under discussion. When the whole institution has some vision of educational objectives for the adult population, then the evening college can begin to develop a philosophy, policies and practices to carry out its responsibilities within the institution's framework of objectives.

The Dean or Director

There is a significant responsibility here for the evening college dean or director. The emergence of an institutional concept of adult education is largely his responsibility. His role is not a passive one of sitting back and awaiting institutional decisions and hoping that he likes them. Rather, his role is that of a university resource to focus attention upon appropriate adult educational problems and to help formulate educational programs which may aid in the solution of those problems. In that way his role is no different from that of the engineering dean who suggests the most appropriate ways for the university to contribute to engineering education, or from that of the law dean with respect to legal education, or from that of the director of student affairs with respect to student health and well-being.

However, such a role calls for a sense of consistency with general university policies and procedures. Consistency need not mean uniformity or regimentation, but it must mean a sense of the appropriate and the compatible.

Obviously, the dean must expect difficulties and problems. Without difficulties and problems there would be no need for administrators. Also, the formulation of a university concept may not mean unanimity nor even a single interpretation of the meaning of the objectives which the majority may accept. And as unanimity may be reached in one field, such as continuing education for the professions, new fields of activity, such as education

for direct attack upon urban problems, arise and cause the entire process to be renewed. The development and maintenance of an institutional point of view toward the education of the adult is dynamic and unending.

The Evening Student

A positive force which requires the evening college to look to the future is the special nature of the student body. In a sense, this essay began with negative considerations: three problems which worry the deans, plus confusion and a threat to survival. Yet, if quick solutions were found to the problems, and confusion were eliminated, and survival were guaranteed, there still would be a need for the evening college to look ahead with more concern than the day colleges. There is a sense of urgency for the adult student which is not typical of young undergraduates.

Automation and urbanization have only limited meanings for the young full-time undergraduate, but the part-time adult student has already faced the spectre of disemployment and neighborhood disintegration. The young student faces a lifetime in which to achieve happiness and success. For the adult student, the next knock of opportunity on his door may be the last. Communication between the specialist and the non-specialist falls into the urgent category, also, for the adult student because he is the specialist or the non-specialist. It is his communication which is ineffective.

The problems of modern society are of special import to the evening college because its students are already in the market place. By and large they seek knowledge for its usefulness in helping them to move toward economic and social stability in a world of economic and social upheaval. Thus, the evening college has a special interest in the development of a total institutional concept of adult education so that total institutional resources may become available in increasing measure.

The Nature of Resources

When the deans mentioned sufficient resources to provide both credit and non-credit programs, they presumably meant a variety of things besides money. Although it may be argued that funds will purchase services and equipment, the solution to the problem of educational resources is not quite that simple.

For the moment, let it be assumed that funds become available for educational services and for expansion of the physical plant. There still may be a shortage of faculty and of supporting services, and the solution may depend almost entirely upon human inclination and motivation rather than upon money.

If the professional schools of the university are not interested in the in-service training of professionals and in the education of sub-professional technicians who may help to meet manpower shortages, the funds to mount programs may lie unused. If the individual faculty members who are the experts in specific fields have no interest in bringing their expert knowledge to the practitioners, the extent of creative evening programming will be limited. If the student life division has no interest in the adult student and his problems, the maximum will not be available in social activities, counseling, placement, and comparable services. If a college program requires a library, then an evening college program requires a library, and facilities without an adequate library constitute a disservice to the part-time student rather than a favor to him. Again, library service and book purchases result from cooperation and not from mandate.

The manpower needs may be the most difficult because they cannot be commanded. Their availability will depend in part upon funds, but they will be available ultimately on a cooperative basis of understanding and a common mission. Hence, the need for an institutional approach to adult education is evident.

Similarly, the use of facilities requires an institutional approach. The evening college must be able to use all of the educational facilities. Such a Utopian condition, especially in the case of laboratories, depends upon faculty support and not upon administrative fiat.

Regardless of the nature of the resources sought, their availability is enhanced by a total institutional concern for the education of the part-time student.

Bridging the Gap

C. P. Snow turned the spotlight on the problem of communication when he wrote of Two Cultures.⁵ Bridging the gap between the specialist and the non-specialist is another effort which supports the plea for institutionalization of the education of the adult because the evening college alone is not going to bridge the gap. The evening college will be a contributor to success in the effort, but all educators and all specialists will have to participate. The educational programs which make an embryonic specialist of the undergraduate will have to be guided by men who seek to bridge the gap. The graduate and professional programs,

⁵ Charles P. Snow, The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

from which emerge the most specialized of the specialists, will have to be guided by men who seek a possible bridge. And the non-specialist will have to make an effort, too, because all communication is two-way, and he must be willing to invest time and effort in moving toward understanding.

At the risk of over-simplification, it may be hypothesized that two factors contribute to the width and depth of the gap. One of them is the expansion of man's body of knowledge so that the person who once had only to understand simple arithmetic must now understand linear programming. The other is the tendency of the specialists to simplify their internal communications problems by the development of jargons intelligible only to the initiated.

The evening college may have a special role in developing programs which will enable the non-specialist to achieve a limited understanding of the working knowledge of the specialist, just as many persons have been forced to acquire a comprehension of atomic fission and fusion and of their effects without ever becoming atomic scientists. As for the destruction of the barrier of jargon, possibly the only contribution of the evening college will be evening courses in vocabulary building and effective writing which may help teach the specialist how to say what he means in language which other people will understand.

Essentially the problem of bridging the gap is a facet of the problem of meeting contemporary social needs, because the breakdown of communication between the specialist and non-specialist has an impact upon the national ability to cope with social problems, and because the communications breakdown is no worse than the breakdown of communication between the frustrated minorities of the cities and the power structures of those cities.

Problems of Contemporary Society

A contribution to the solution of the contemporary problems will call for a complete rethinking of the role of the evening college and a change in many of its established practices. The problems involved in the third of the areas identified by the deans and directors are social, economic, political, and personal. They involve the individual and his reaction to frustration and insecurity; they involve the family as a clan and as an educational unit; they involve the interrelationship of economic opportunity, social realization, and political action. In such a milieu the routine offering of courses, whether related or unrelated, will have no value. The repetition of conferences and study groups which lead only to succeeding conferences and study groups without action will have no value.

To make a contribution toward solution of the problems of contemporary society the evening college will have to enlist the aid of every one of the university's specialists. The problems range through housing, juvenile delinquency, transportation, water resources, air pollution, poverty, illiteracy; the list is long and growing. The role of the evening college may be in educating leaders; it may be in providing consultants.

The nearest analogy is the corps of specialists within the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics: the poultry specialist, the horticulture specialist, and so on through the gamut of areas in which the field workers may encounter problems. For the evening college, in its role as the institution's agent to serve the adult population, the problem is far greater than the problems in agriculture and home economics because not only must the subject matter expert be available, but also several experts may have to be brought into a team undertaking because a given problem may involve the engineer, the sociologist, the psychologist, the planner, the social worker, and other faculty members.

It becomes obvious that the evening college cannot hope to cope with such problems unless there is a total institutional approach to the education of the adult. Further, much of the education may take place on a referral basis, as person to person consultation. No longer may the evening college gear its program to mounting the courses and conferences which will pay their own way. No longer can the evening college rely on extra teaching at low cost. The kind of involvement which contemporary society requires calls for faculty time as part of the regular teaching load for classroom teaching, for conference participation, and for community consultation.

The evening college thus must become all that it has been and, in addition, the bridge between the community and the entire institution.

To Eliminate the Confusion

The position has been taken that the first step required in any effort to accomplish the desired results is the elimination of confusion about the evening college. With such a clarification in mind, a hypothetical situation is presented which will produce a working model of an evening college with a clearly defined educational task consistent with the educational purpose and resources of the parent university.

The resulting clarification will help to produce resources, will help to find ways of bridging the gap, and will help to bring an educational contribution to the problems of contemporary society. In addition to helping in those ways, adoption of the

model will provide positively for survival of the evening college and related educational activities.

The hypothetical institution is Composite U.

Purpose

Composite U is concerned with the three problems which the deans and directors cited. Further, one of its objectives is the provision of educational services to the adult population of the area which it serves and, in a sense, to the adult population of the nation or to mankind. Consequently, Composite seeks resources for both credit and non-credit programs; it seeks to help bridge the gap; it seeks new ways of meeting current problems of society.

The Evening College

One of Composite's means of bringing its total resources to bear upon contemporary problems and other adult needs is the evening college. However, university policy has always recognized usage as a determining factor with respect to the meaning of words. Therefore, the evening college must attain a resemblance to the other colleges of the university through the elimination of unnecessary differences.

With full determination to provide as broad a service as possible to the adult population, Composite is setting out to clarify the historically confused situation of the evening college.

Adult Education: The people at Composite are literal about the meaning of adult education. It is taken to mean the education of adults by any means and by any appropriate agency. Consequently, the education may be formal or informal, credit or non-credit. It may be action-oriented or merely informative. The education may be carried out by class, conference, forum, seminar, consultation, radio, television, in fact by any recognized means.

Non-credit: None of the other colleges of the university provide courses of non-credit instruction or enroll non-credit students. Consequently, the non-credit services will no longer be carried on under the name of the evening college because here seems to be a source of the confusion which plagues many of the faculty and trustees, as well as the community leaders, with

respect to the nature and quality of the evening college degree program.⁶ The non-credit, consultative, and referral services will be placed under a community service division which will be called the division of university extension, of continuing education, of life-long learning, or of some other appropriate name.

Faculty: Also, Composite is going to appoint some full-time evening teachers as a faculty to be responsible for the part-time degree programs. The president has appointed a committee to study the faculty organization of the School of General Studies of Brooklyn College, of the School of General Studies at Columbia University, and of University College at Rutgers -- The State University. Although all three organizations are different mechanically, the president feels that their objectives and end-results are the same, and he wants a faculty recommendation as to which is best for Composite U.

University level: Both the evening college and the non-credit unit are going to try to confine their programs to educational activities which are consonant with Composite's overall educational program. They don't intend to try to fill every vacuum, but they have decided to help other agencies establish new programs rather than try to compete where the subject matter is not within the university's pattern. Examples of the kinds of programs they hope to pass on to other agencies are those in basic literacy and vocational-technical education.

The result: The evening college has turned over its non-credit courses to the new community service division and has retained only the courses which lead to degrees. Although the

⁶ President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College obtained the approval of the Board of Higher Education of New York City in 1953 for the separation of the adult education courses from the evening credit program. Both types of courses had been activities of the School of General Studies. The separation created the Brooklyn College Division of Community Services to include adult education, audio-visual services, and community service activities. The credit courses remained as the province of the School of General Studies.

Among the reasons for the change, as set forth by President Gideonse in an interview on December 8, 1958, was the president's belief that public understanding and support both of the programs and of their needs would be facilitated if the degree and diploma courses were in one organization and the ad hoc programs developed in response to community expressions of need were in another organization separately administered.

entrance requirements are more liberal than those of the day colleges, all evening college students must satisfy Composite's minimum requirements. In addition, all students must maintain satisfactory academic records.

Although all evening students have to meet the entrance requirements, less than half of them seek degrees. Composite recognizes the needs of adults for individual courses and encourages such enrollments.

The faculty members who are going to be appointed for evening teaching will meet the same criteria of scholarship and general usefulness as appointees to day teaching. It is recognized that much of the evening teaching -- probably more than half of it -- will continue to be done by part-time teachers, but their work will be coordinated and supervised by the nucleus of full-time faculty who will be educationally responsible for the quality of the evening college.

The evening college has lost some of its students and some of its courses, but some of the confusion already has been lost, too. It begins to appear that over a period of time the entire Composite staff and faculty will come to accept and understand the evening college as a multi-purpose, credit course service to part-time students.

With the new organization, Composite feels that it is on its way to providing a greater contribution to the adults of its service area, and the evening college feels that it may make better progress toward solution of the problems which have bothered its dean for the last fifteen years.

The dean and his associates face the future with confidence.

FICTION AND FACT ABOUT THE EVENING COLLEGE

by

George H. Daigneault¹

The most common characteristics that evening colleges have shared have been the sameness of their efforts and the narrowness of their objectives. In general, they have been marked by unconscious drift rather than active direction, by imitation rather than by initiation. Under such circumstances, it is remarkable that the evening college has survived at all. How difficult then to predict the future!

But nevertheless, the evening college has a long and admirable history of service over the past half century as the agency which made it possible for many thousands of individuals to pursue their higher education while they maintained homes and families and supported themselves through full-time employment. Needless to say, it was assumed by many in the academy that such education had to be inferior — it was held at night; the students worked during the day, and many of them came from poor homes and second-rate high schools. How could they possibly be as good students as those who gave their full time to education?

And so University Evening Colleges were frequently put under the charge of individuals who were somewhat of a problem to the institution. Rarely was the same considered and exacting judgment applied to the selection of an evening college dean that was given to other major appointments. The institution did not concern itself with the special competence of the individual assigned to preside over the evening college; none was apparently needed — at least, no special educational or pedagogical competence. What was needed was an individual who, in order to retain his rights and privileges — or at least some of them — would meticulously carry out the objectives of the day college in order to offer a group of courses that would enable a limited number of individuals to work toward an academic degree.

The faculty of the evening college like their students were also frequently part-time. They possessed no life-time devotion to teaching, nor, unfortunately, very much interest in it. The rewards they worked for during the evenings were status and money. Those evening college teachers who came from the day time academic community shared with their students another

¹ Director of Extension, University of California at Santa Barbara.

essential characteristic — poverty. The students were typically financially unable to attend college during the day, and the faculty members could not afford to teach only during the day. In some cases, this relationship created a strong, positive bond between student and teacher, in others, a deep and abiding hostility. There were, of course, a few devoted scholars who taught evening college classes as a responsibility. There were even a few institutions where such responsibility was considered a significant institutional function, to which a proportionate share of institutional funds were devoted, and academic staff assigned.

Unfortunately, however, in most institutions in this environment of limited resources and hierarchies of duties and obligations, the evening college typically found itself far down the list when it came to handing out the prizes. Nevertheless, critics were quick to find fault with the struggling pale-faced imitation of the day program. Despite attempts to provide documented evidence to the contrary, students, teachers and courses were declared clearly inferior. It is idle to suggest that these claims did not possess some truth. Students were expected to respond to an instructional environment which was designed for the young and daytime learner, and they often found that they could not. The reputation of the evening college as second-rate is, we must admit, not altogether false. The complaints of the more rigorous examiners of the evening college were more often than not at least partly justified. So the evening college, to paraphrase a slogan assigned to another "marginal group," was "the first reported and the last supported." In such an environment, the most important consideration was survival. One can argue that this is a dismal, and even brutal, picture of the evening college. But all of us who have over the years been in the business of educating adults recognize it only too well.

To some of those who have been aggressively interested in the growth and development of continuing education, this picture has — not without some logic — suggested the need to separate the evening college from the rest of the institution, to establish parallel but quasi-independent academic departments with their own faculty and student body and degrees. Curiously, however, even in those instances where such arrangements were made, the curriculum continued to duplicate the educational program designed for full-time students typically a decade or more younger than the evening college enrollee.

The response of the regular faculty toward such separation was almost universally negative. The instruction was beyond their supervision and the degrees were necessarily second-rate. More often than not, however, the attitude of the faculty was one of indifference. For many, the evening college and its activities had an air of unreality about it. If asked, a faculty member might

typically respond, "I'm really not too sure what they do down there, anyway."

Some Common Views About the Evening College

As a result of the peculiar evolution of the evening college, a kind of "mythology" has developed, critical to the evening college. Because these feelings are in many instances deeply entrenched, and only infrequently verbalized, they are difficult to refute. However, in order for the evening college to function effectively in a society which hopes to make heavy demands on it, some of these myths need to be explored, and where possible, exploded. The criticisms are levelled against all elements of the college -- students, teachers, curriculum, administration. It is worth looking at these in somewhat greater detail.

Views on Students

One common group of attitudes reflects views about evening school students, especially about their abilities, their motivations, and their energies.

With regard to abilities, students of evening colleges are said to be inferior to day students. With the vast public and private funds available for scholarships, fellowships, and loans, it is asserted that any really competent student need not attend an evening college. Federal support for on-campus and off-campus student jobs under the poverty bill will tend to reinforce this view.

Actually, however, this view rests on largely erroneous assumptions. It is not true necessarily that the great majority of those enrolled in evening college programs, if they had a choice or if they were intellectually capable, would go to school full-time. Nor is it safe to assume that individuals seeking continuing education are for the most part interested in only one product -- a degree.

While there is no denying that quite a good job has been done in equating academic success with sheepskins, there are many people whose educational needs cannot be adequately fulfilled by simply obtaining a degree. There are, in addition, all of the usual reasons why people of high ability might not be comfortably ensconced as full-time students on the campus -- family obligations, military service, special vocational choices plus a host of personal reasons.

But existing studies do show that evening college students in regular college courses tend to show a wider ability spread than do day students. In other words, evening college students fail to conform to the grading curve normally applied to day students.

The conclusion drawn is that evening college students are therefore less able. One might be inclined to take such an argument more seriously if both the instruments used and the population tested were subjected to some form of standardization. But as long as a measuring device whose accuracy may be questionable is employed as a yardstick to measure what may very well be two different classes of objects, we have reason to question the validity of this estimation of evening school students' ability.

In addition to being considered inferior academically, evening students are said to be difficult to motivate. The truth is, however, that although not necessarily interested in a degree, evening students are subject to the same rules as day students. Thus, a college teacher does not have at his disposal a completely captive audience which sees his course as another rung in the degree ladder. For many adult students, the reward must come in the course itself rather than in its function as an incidental instrument to gain another end. Under such circumstances, the role of the teacher becomes incredibly demanding. He must conduct what amounts to a "mass tutorial" in his treatment of his course. Unfortunately, a plurality of motives becomes confused in the mind of the teacher with a difference in degree of motivation.

It is clearly easier to explain this motivational "myth" than to exorcise it. Despite the increasing attention being given to student motivation in learning, considerable research effort needs to be expended to determine how the multiplicity of adult motives can be effectively integrated into both traditional and novel educational programs.

A third argument made against the part-time evening school students is that they are engaged in an intellectual endeavor which can only be successfully pursued with full-time energies. There is no denying that the adult student is not a "career student" living and working completely in an educational environment, committed totally to the pursuit of higher education. Of course this makes a difference -- one which has not been adequately taken into consideration in the planning of educational programs for adults. But the difference between the adult and the full-time student is not so much energy level, as it is the way in which each is perceived and the way he perceives himself. Few adult students define themselves as "students" even though they may be taking 40% or 50% of a full-time student's course load. When someone asks them, "What do you do?" they do not answer, "I am an accountant and a student." They do not give this answer because it has not yet entered our vocabulary of roles. It is clear that with the emergence of continuing education as a way of life, the opportunity exists as never before to articulate a significant social role for the evening college student.

Views on Teachers

Like their students, evening college teachers also sometimes are stigmatized as a group, with respect to similar characteristics -- ability, motivation and energy.

The derogation of evening college teachers is based on the assumption that a teacher's ability can be defined largely in terms of subject matter competence, an assumption that has led to some very bad teaching in this country -- both on and off the campus. It has also led to the practice of selecting teachers for evening college classes on, at best, marginally rational factors -- the need for money or physical proximity to the class to be taught. It is then assumed that any full-time member of an academic department can certainly teach all basic courses in the discipline, and a surprising range of advanced courses as well. An interesting, but somewhat frustrating paradox results. If only members of the full-time faculty are viewed as competent, and they withhold their services, how can an expanding evening college program cope with the increased demands placed upon it without resorting to wholesale use of part-time faculty? Obviously, the demands cannot be met -- and this may indeed in the eyes of evening college skeptics serve a useful purpose -- namely, to curtail the growth and expansion of the evening college.

It is clearly ridiculous to confine membership in the evening college faculty to semi-competent members of the full-time faculty when an expanding pool of top flight talent eager and willing to teach exists outside the university. It should be remembered that less than half of those persons awarded doctorates elect to associate themselves with a university. The majority take jobs in government, business, and industry, but retain a peripheral desire to teach, at least on a part-time basis. They need the evening college and the evening college certainly needs them.

Many part-time evening college teachers, or "street corner faculty members", while they possess subject matter competence, may lack teaching ability. However, there is considerably more likelihood that something can be done to improve their teaching skill than would be possible with regular faculty.

Part-time faculty generally possess a humility about their task which is largely lacking in their full-time counterparts. While it is true that some of them may have a great deal to be humble about, a considerable number combine high subject matter competence with unusual zeal and a keen willingness to learn more about effectual teaching. Yet, special clinics and in-service programs in this area are haphazard and hard to find. Not infrequently, the director of Extension sets himself or one

of his staff up as an "expert" in the teaching of adults. If the Extension teacher wasn't discouraged before he is exposed to such an experience, he is usually dismayed after it! Most major non-educational enterprises spend a significant sum annually for the purpose of training people to perform well in their jobs. Neither day nor evening colleges spend a fraction of what is required to improve teacher competence — either to advance ability in teaching or, for that matter, to improve subject matter competence.

Another problem for evening colleges is that in the present research- and publication-orientated institutional environment, there is the feeling among a large number of the university faculty that it is unwise to identify oneself too strongly with the public service functions of the university, and in particular, to become too involved in evening teaching. It is argued that when a junior faculty member is up for promotion, extensive public service will be regarded by the reviewing committee not positively, but negatively.

But actually whatever meager evidence is available suggests that the amount of time and energy expended in teaching an occasional evening course will hardly make the difference between a successful or unsuccessful research and publication record. Since the course the instructor is being asked to teach may be similar to one he regularly teaches during the day, only a modest amount of special preparation is usually required of him. (Whether this is adequate preparation for the unique problems involved in teaching adults is also a serious consideration.) What really inhibits faculty participation in evening college teaching is that those individuals who are in the position to apply the sanctions really do believe that such involvement will inhibit scholarly production, and it is those persons whose views must be influenced.

One obvious answer to faculty resistance to evening college teaching would be to gather evidence indicating that among those who participate in such teaching, at least as many prove to be productive scholars as do not. A second possibility would be to devise strategies to influence institutional policy with regard to the role of teaching and public service. In general, administrative and faculty policy makers have tended to soft pedal public service contributions as though they were incompatible with research. Their attitudes need to be drawn out into the open, examined, and discussed. The leadership role which evening college deans and directors must play in instigating such policy review cannot be underestimated, particularly when, in a seller's market, faculty teaching and public service will continue to diminish in relative importance.

But even those teachers who do teach in the evening college, according to critics, can give only a limited amount of time to an evening class. It is said that often both the instructor and the students would much prefer to be doing something else. It is, of course, not untrue that faculty members are sometimes disturbed by an apparent lack of interest or competence on the part of students, or that students find the approach of the instructor uninspiring, since it is too characteristic of the way he meets a typical freshman or sophomore class. On the other hand, it is also often true that the evening college class is the most rewarding experience in both the faculty member's and the student's otherwise uninspiring day.

Undoubtedly, more painstaking devices for selecting both teachers and students need to be considered. The teacher, the student, as well as the evening college cause, are ill-served if marginal students and indifferent teachers are thrown together for two or three hours a week in an artificially-illuminated classroom. The answer to the "left-over energy" view is not to make use of those teachers whose performances suggest that their energy level cannot adequately cope with an evening class. Unless and until minimum performance standards regarding the quality of teaching for both regular and part-time evening college teachers are set, an optimal learning environment cannot be achieved.

Views on the Curriculum

Regarding the evening college curriculum, there are at least two attitudes which trouble the evening college waters. First is the assumption that the daytime curriculum is somehow inviolable. If a person is seeking a degree, the feeling is, he must follow without deviation the standard program set down for regular undergraduates. (If he is not interested in the degree program, there is serious question as to whether the college or university should be serving him at all.) Many evening college deans and directors, probably a majority, are convinced that it is their primary mission to help fulfill the goals and objectives of the campus departments irrespective of how appropriate these objectives may be for the clientele they are charged with serving. Clearly, such an attitude leaves little room for the kind of curricular flexibility and innovation which is essential to the effective functioning of the evening college.

That the majority of enrollments are in degree credit classes suggests the primary role of the degree in evening college programming. What these enrollments imply is that adults want and need degree credit. With about 60% of those enrolled in evening colleges taking degree credit courses -- which means that the course was designed with the degree seeker in mind -- what happens by the time graduation arrives? An evening college

which has 5,000 enrollees will, on the average, have 3,000 or more individuals enrolled in courses where a degree is the objective. The evening college is fortunate indeed if ten per cent of these will still be around when the day comes to hand out diplomas. One is inevitably led to two inescapable conclusions: first, a great majority of those in degree credit classes, even though they may publicly state otherwise, have no serious or abiding interest in a degree. These people ought to be exposed to learning situations which more closely approximate their real vocational, professional, or personal needs rather than be straight-jacketed into a curriculum not designed for them. Second, the evening college leadership is accepting without thought or protest as an overriding educational objective, a curriculum which clouds its obligations to its clientele in other educational areas. Further, it exposes itself continuously to the charge by resident faculty that it is offering a second-rate degree when the fact is that only a fraction of its clientele are really seeking or are actually ever going to get the degree.

The demand for "degree credit" by evening college students who are not degree seekers is based upon at least three factors: 1) they might want a degree later on; 2) courses without the "degree credit" label are suspect; 3) credentialing, licensing, or tuition refund requirements specify credit courses.

It is clear that the clientele for evening classes can be educated away from the notion of the evening college or extension division as a purveyor of degree credit. In the University of California Extension, registration in lower and upper division courses over the past five years has remained almost constant, while registrations in non-degree credit post-graduate professional courses have tripled over the same period. Further, of the 40,000 registrants in degree credit Extension classes, (less than half of the total Extension evening class registration) only about 3% used their credits to satisfy degree requirements.

The second curricular problem is that the educational program offered in the evening college is made the responsibility of campus academic departments. If demands are received for courses in data processing, for example, they must be relayed to the campus department or school of business which may then suggest the standard campus course (if there is one) in data processing. What is really needed, however, is a complete thinking through of the purpose for which the course was requested in the first place. Once outside the degree framework, unlimited opportunities exist for curricular innovation. For example, University of California Extension, Los Angeles, through its Business Administration Extension department, has organized a whole series of what are called "professional designation" programs. These are certificate-type programs of from six to ten courses which are designed to provide a comprehensive

education in such specialized areas as data processing, government contract administration, and purchasing management. Typically, such programs are worked out between representatives of the School of Business and the appropriate professional organization concerned, under the leadership of University Extension. These programs have been enthusiastically received in communities throughout Southern California. Most of the educational programs for the next decade or more will have to reflect novel approaches to solving new and as yet non-existent problems. Extant curricula simply are inadequate to cope with the problems faced by the communities in which the evening colleges find themselves. The burden, therefore, must fall on leadership emanating from within the evening college.

Views on the Administration

For an evening college administrator to be effective in his role, it is often asserted, he requires a faculty appointment irrespective of the amount of time he is able to devote to teaching or research. The obvious assumption behind this position is that role occupants on a campus derive their status from their academic rank, rather than from the duties they may perform, and the success with which they perform them. While there is no question that titles and degrees have considerable significance, there ought to be some relationship between the possession of a title and the performance of duties associated with it. More importantly, the individual's primary job role and the way in which it is executed ought to carry enough status so that it is not necessary to prop it up with courtesy appointments.

It is frequently asserted that university administrators stand a better chance of acceptance among their academic colleagues if they themselves come from a respected discipline. Certainly there is some merit in this idea. However, it fails to take into consideration that the primary ingredients required for administering an evening college have little to do with those of a successful scholar. This is not to suggest that many of the qualities of the scholar are not useful in the job of evening dean, or, for that matter in any other administrative job. However, if he is to perform effectively in a hostile environment, the dean of an evening college ought to have a kind of concern for and commitment to continuing education that highly successful academicians have for their own discipline. In other words, appointment to the deanship or directorship of an evening college ought not to be an alternative route to successful pursuit of an academic career. Unfortunately, there are too many sidetracked faculty members now running extension programs to the detriment of the adults in the community and the institution, as well as themselves.

Another barrier to the development of the evening college is the belief that it is the central role of the evening college dean

to reproduce at night the academic program of the day department. In many evening colleges, the evening dean or director is actively discouraged from functioning in an innovative manner. The AUEC-NUEA² Enrollment Report suggests that the number of programs in NUEA institutions increased by ten times the number in AUEC institutions in a three year period. The actual percentage increase for AUEC institutions was about 2% a year. It would appear that evening college deans do not perceive of themselves as organizers and developers of new programs. While it is clear that the range of NUEA institutional responsibilities is typically far broader than AUEC institution, the difference in development of new programs can hardly be explained by this factor alone.

The evening college is not merely the agent of the day college or of its academic departments, nor should it be. The evening college must serve first as the representative of widely disparate individual and community educational concerns. To the extent that these concerns and interests can be effectively harmonized with existing day programs, the evening dean's program planning problem is simplified. Unfortunately, the majority of evening colleges have been making available to the public degree credit programs as though they were universal palliatives. It is, therefore, encouraging to find that a substantial number of institutions in responding to CSLEA's request for topics for this group of papers said they are seeking guidance in the development of new programs which will enable individuals to deal with contemporary social problems.³ They should be warned, however, that many of their campus colleagues will at least initially view such departures with considerable suspicion if not downright hostility. It is one of the evening dean's major responsibilities to convert this suspicion to understanding and acceptance.

Finally, and inevitably, with problems like these hedging the life of the evening director, it follows that only those people who can find nothing else to do within the university structure accept positions as evening college deans and directors. It is suggested by certain observers that the institutional status of the job is low and that rewards are considerably higher for similar kinds of performance in other professional fields. Under the circum-

² Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC) is the professional association of personnel of the evening colleges. National University Extension Association (NUEA) is the professional association of institutions with extension divisions, usually the large state universities, some of whom also have active evening colleges.

³ See introduction, page 2.

stances colleagues ask in well-meaning consternation: "Why does anyone who can do anything else want to run an evening college?"

If the leadership of the evening college is to be accorded the attention it deserves, serious consideration needs to be given to the kinds of professional requirements which will contribute to the making of the most effective evening dean. A large part of the talent attracted to formal graduate programs in adult education at the master's and doctoral level is unfortunately not impressive. This is less a criticism of the programs than it is of the calibre of people who, by and large, seem to be attracted to professional continuing education. If prospective candidates of high quality are to be sought to perform the rigorous and exacting demands of leadership in the field of professional continuing education, the work must be of a nature to challenge the best in anyone.

Implications for the Future of the Evening College

The above comments are designed to suggest that in the main the evening college is not ready, or for the most part able, to accept the continuing education role which is waiting to be filled. In part we have become captives of our own success. The traditional approaches are accepted so readily by a clientele eager for almost anything that we find little free time or energy available for confrontation of the challenges and problems of society for which continuing education represents an important answer.

To a large extent, this position is understandable. Evening colleges are by and large self-supporting enterprises which do not readily lend themselves to high risk experimentation. Further, they are not always staffed with people who see themselves as career-oriented adult educators committed to the self-enlargement of the adults in the community.

It would seem, therefore, that in considering the future role of the evening college as a significant influence on man and his society, a few comments are called for relative to the resources -- both human and material -- to meet this task.

Institutional Support of the Evening College

Universities and colleges, like other organizations, are forced to make decisions in terms of the application of limited resources to an amplitude of tasks. Unfortunately, as these tasks have been organized into an order of preference, the evening college has found itself trailing far at the bottom in the allocation of resources. Nor does the evening college operate from a power base of sufficient strength to maneuver very effectively for a

greater piece of the pie. Neither is there anything on the horizon which suggests that the existing relationship is likely to change despite the vastly changing responsibilities faced by the evening college. On the contrary, the contest for resources will become even more intense as the demands on the total institution become more acute. The evening college will find it even more difficult than at present to recruit full-time faculty or to find available facilities for its programs. Even support in the form of services now frequently provided by the parent institution, may well be withdrawn.

Thus, at the same time that the burden on the evening college is becoming more onerous, the material resources available to it may well be threatened. Clearly, this is the time for a major re-evaluation of the role of the evening college and its mission. Such a re-examination should be regarded as an opportunity and a challenge as well as an obligation.

Primary among its considerations might be the extent to which the evening college ought to continue to identify itself so closely with the degree credit course objectives of the day program. If it is assumed that the population for degree credit programs as well as non-degree programs will both increase, it must also be assumed that the evening college will be hard put to handle both with equal effectiveness. While a strong argument could be made either way, this writer would for several reasons suggest that the future rests with a rapid expansion of non-degree credit and non-credit programs at the expense of degree credit programs.

First, the educational tasks confronting the evening college along with other educational and quasi-educational agencies in the community are staggering and extend far beyond the modest goals involved in making available an evening degree. In the most general terms, man has difficulty in understanding himself and his society; in the most specific, he needs help in keeping up with his job and in understanding a symphony or a work of art. He lives in a world where the source of goods and services is further removed from him than ever and where his work role is so specialized he may never really know what the actual end product may be. He lives in an increasingly urban environment with little social cohesion. He is truly lonely, alienated in a crowded environment which makes greater demands on him as a worker, husband, father and citizen than ever before.

By and large these are new human burdens and responsibilities which individuals have not faced in our society before, at least, not in quite the same way. And their number is not by any means static. In their complexity, our social ills feed upon each other, giving birth to new and even more anxiety-producing problems. The evening college, standing as it does close to the

community it serves, is in an unequalled position to evaluate prospective educational programs in terms of more broadly defined goals and objectives. But the evening college must do more than serve as a broker between the community and the university; it must also concern itself with innovative and experimental ways in which the problems that need solving can be most effectively handled.

It is difficult to see how an educational agency exclusively or primarily devoted to degree-credit programs can respond with sufficient flexibility to such demands.

Second, even though the immediate future may see a significant increase in the number of individuals who profess to want an evening degree, the long run future for evening degree programs is not bright. More and more students will take advantage of loans and scholarships to complete their work during the day, and they should be strongly encouraged to do so. As the pressure increases on day programs to expand, both teachers and classrooms will be employed from early morning to late evening. Even now, there is hardly an institution which does not offer a number of lab science sections at night. This tendency will increase in the near future. Once a substantial number of classes is being offered over a twelve hour day as a matter of course, serious questions will be raised concerning the need for a division specifically set up for the purpose of running an evening college. In some instances, the conclusion will be that there is no such need.

Third, no matter how hard evening colleges try to get away from the image, their evening degrees are going to continue to be regarded as second class. They may even drop to third class as the staffing of the courses with regular faculty who can virtually write their own ticket as far as teaching assignments goes becomes increasingly difficult. It is this writer's belief, however, that many of the same faculty members who would reject out of hand an invitation to teach an evening degree credit course, will actively cooperate in the planning, organization and teaching of an exciting course or program designed to meet a contemporary adult need.

Fourth, the evening college has an unparalleled opportunity in the development of non-degree, non-credit programs to define for itself areas of educational concern which will rely on the expertise presumably possessed by professional adult educators in the field of programming. We can propose programs which are continuous and sequential in nature, which cut across disciplinary lines, and which more immediately and directly serve a specific clientele. The ability to improvise educational programs is particularly important given the affective nature of many of the problems that need to be faced. Attitudes and

behavior toward a host of critical issues — education, race, poverty, crime, housing to name a few — need to be influenced. By and large such influence will not take place via the traditional approaches to learning.

It should be quickly added that the university is not the only agency in the community equipped to offer a meaningful contribution to the solution of these problems. On the contrary, its contribution must be carefully measured against the educational potential which exists within the community among other agencies. Criteria need to be established which will insure the optimum use of the limited resources which the university has available in achieving the objectives of the evening college. Further, the entire answer to solving pressing community, social and cultural problems does not rest in the area of formal education. The tendency to turn automatically to the university for help, much in the same way that earlier societies turned to the church, must be resisted.

A considerable part of what passes for higher adult education ought not to be offered by colleges and universities at all. Much of the educational activity which falls in the category of "training" should be handled directly on an "in-house" basis by employers themselves. Individuals should be also encouraged more frequently to fall back on their own resources in promoting their own learning. The university can assist by furnishing study guides, reading lists and helping to promote the organization of conferences, workshops and discussion groups. However, at the same time it is extending its own sphere of concern beyond the evening college degree, strenuous efforts ought to be made to reduce the dependence of individuals and groups on institutionalized learning situations.

However, the university, because of its position at the cutting edge of knowledge and information can, through evening college leadership, stimulate community efforts which may well result in endeavors in which the university itself is only partially involved or possibly not involved at all.

The rapidly expanding demand for programs in the continuing education of adults will confront the evening college with an urgent need to develop new approaches to transmitting knowledge. The resources available for such a task are in part still being formulated. For example, the area of programmed learning offers tremendous opportunities for the transmission of factual knowledge. And yet, little more than language laboratories have found their way into adult education curricula. Given the known difficulties which adults confront in mastering repetitive material — vocabulary lists, symbols and formulae, etc., programmed approaches ought to be receiving extensive attention by professionals in the field. Not only can such techniques

improve the learning situation, but they also give promise of permitting the instructor to devote his time and energy to more nearly appropriate kinds of classroom problems.

In addition, serious consideration needs to be given to the integration of classes with other formats of instruction -- correspondence, mass media, field trips, independent study. Significant efforts have been begun by a few institutions in most of these areas. As yet, however, little evidence is forthcoming regarding the effectiveness of combining any or all of these instructional methods.

It is clear that part-time faculty will continue to be a fruitful source of evening college teaching and the available pool of professionally and technically trained elite is likely to increase. The extent to which the contributions of professionally and technically qualified non-academicians are really meaningful and significant depends in large measure on the capacity of the evening college to devise means for successfully identifying the most able of them and providing a kind of orientation to and training for their task which will make them truly effective.

It is suggested that sufficient resources will exist to meet future demands for programs of continuing education to the extent that innovative and experimentally minded adult educators function as educational leaders both on and off the campus within the context of carefully defined objectives designed to serve a ready and eager adult clientele.

A Comment About Increasing Specialization -- A Challenge to Evening Colleges

In a society committed to an ever-increasing, searching, and piercing investigation of the unknown, the tendency for individuals and organizations to focus their attention on ever more narrowly defined tasks will intensify. Further, the evening college will be called upon through the application of the research and teaching skills, which are peculiarly its own, to contribute to and support this process. Thus, we will find ourselves increasingly bound to the very tendency we fear most -- an accelerated alienation resulting from the widening gulf created by technological division of function.

With increasing frequency, the accumulation of new knowledge is vitally dependent upon the effective combination of two or more existing disciplines. Indeed, where would the field of space science be without such interrelationships? Unfortunately, however, the net result of such amalgams is more often than not a spinning off of entirely new and different specializations rather than the development of bridges between existing ones. The

space M. D. will have little in common with his medical brethren on earth, or for that matter, with any other existing scientist.

There is, therefore, little question that the gap between the specialist and the non-specialist and between specialist 'A' and specialist 'B' will continue to widen -- particularly in the physical and biological sciences, and to a lesser but nonetheless significant degree in the social sciences.

It is clear that major efforts need to be devoted to a determination of the ways in which sophisticated bodies of information can be effectively adapted and transmitted to contribute to the understanding and appreciation of the non-expert. Further, popular conceptions about what constitutes "culture" need to be extended to embrace science and technology as significant beyond their utilitarian function in protecting and defending an affluent society. Special conferences and institutes as well as regular courses and lecture series can and should be organized to expose and enlighten both professionals and non-professionals concerning the new and exciting developments being made in all branches of the sciences.

Evening College Programming for the Future

In its shift away from providing standard degree credit, the evening college will find itself moving toward a new and more dynamic role in programming. A few of the possible areas of concern to which evening colleges might direct themselves are discussed below.

One group of problems with which the evening college must concern itself flows from the rapid urbanization of the society. Educational programs need to be devised which are concerned with the vast problems of planning for the urban society. The number and types of groups to be served with programs in transportation, communication, housing, recreation, and cultural resources are almost limitless. Educators of adults need to devote an increasing share of their energy and attention to the development of programs which will contribute to racial and religious understanding. Further, in our larger cities, with their tendency toward economic class distinction, the adult educator needs to consider ways in which such distinctions can be minimized. Can the middle class be lured back to the city in significant numbers, and if so, how? How shall we deal with both our young and our old in an urban society? Both represent important resources which we have somehow abandoned. Moreover, we need programs designed to examine the challenges which exist in the area of regional development. It has become increasingly clear that existing units of government are no longer adequate to deal with problems which cut across city, county, state, and national lines. And closely related to this regional

problem is the problem of relating the suburbs to the major urban center of which it is a satellite. Typically, suburban dwellers use the city as an economic and cultural resource otherwise deserted. They no longer live nor shop in what has been termed the "inner city." And yet, to survive, the inner city needs a heterogeneous population involved in and intimately concerned with the problems which it confronts. The evening college located as it often is in the city's heart, is intimately concerned with this problem. And finally, the evening college can play a major role in an examination of the way in which individuals fulfill their work and leisure roles in an urban society. As less of our time as well as our life span is devoted to work, we need guides to the ways in which we can not only enjoy our leisure hours, but use them in the pursuit of effective citizenship as well.

Another kind of problem with which the university has to concern itself is the individual's need for wisdom in order to live well in the modern world. We live in a complex society in which it is often difficult to maintain a sense of the self, and in which deeply felt human needs for differentiation and individuality seem to be neither understood nor appreciated. The university through its evening college can offer individuals and and groups an opportunity to examine their relations to themselves and their fellow man with programs in philosophy and ethics, psychiatry and psychology and theology and religion. Hopefully many of these programs will cut across traditional academic disciplines in a search for ideas and concepts which are meaningful to mature adults.

Perhaps the major responsibility today of any educational enterprise that seeks to serve adults is contributing to the dialogue concerning problems and issues in man's relation to other nations and political systems. We need to give sustained and concentrated attention to the possibilities and problems associated with peace and war — weapons control and elimination, international politics, the future of underdeveloped nations and the directions in which international organizations should move. Programs of varying levels of sophistication and formality should be arranged in cooperation with other educational and community organizations concerned with international affairs.

The need for intense devotion to the development of programs in the physical and biological sciences is almost too obvious to mention. A serious effort needs to be launched to develop a liberal science education for non-scientists which would contribute to human understanding about outer space, inner space, the oceans as well as scientific developments which affect us more directly. Concern needs to be evidenced for linking the discoveries in pure science with the magnificent achievements of technology.

The general lack of intelligence concerning our economic systems — its possibilities and its problems — is appalling. We need vastly greater personal understanding of how we use our material resources in the best interests of all people, both here as well as around the world. With the monumental lack of public interest in the "dismal science," imaginative efforts will need to be applied to this area of programming if significant results are to be achieved.

Finally the areas suggested above as well as those mentioned elsewhere in this document, or indeed, not covered at all, should be associated in meaningful sequential and continuous programs of liberal education for adults. The mature adult feels keenly the need for a systematic attack on his learning difficulties. He is willing to devote a considerable amount of time, money and energy to find the answers to his questions. To the extent that we feed him unrelated discontinuous "canned" courses, we do the people we serve as well as the field of higher continuing education a gross disservice.

The future of the evening college is perhaps as much a function of what those who serve as its leaders want it to be as it is anything else. The time, the circumstances and the resources are propitious. What may really be lacking is the imaginative and energetic leadership which will combine them in exciting and creative ways to serve individual and societal purposes.

PHOENIX OR JAY?

by

H. Lichtenstein¹

Evening colleges will continue to respond to the changing conditions and the consequent changing demands of our society much as they have always responded to demands and problems forced upon them -- haphazardly, hurriedly, hopefully, and, in the end, almost instinctively. Both the strengths and weaknesses of evening colleges have stemmed from their sense of opportunity and their sense of opportunism. Because they are usually peripheral branches of the higher educational enterprise, the evening colleges have had greater opportunities than other branches to respond to the immediate demands of their local communities. But that same peripheral status has fostered feelings of inferiority which have prevented them from fully understanding and exploiting the opportunities which their institutions and communities have thrust upon them.

Because evening colleges exist, however marginally, within the total university framework; their commitments, their attitudes, and their "philosophies" will inevitably reflect those of the institutions of which they are a part. Evening colleges may concern themselves with those educational enterprises which they feel peculiarly competent to deal with, or those which other branches of the university cannot attend to, but these enterprises must continue to fit into the sometimes tacit purposes of the total institution. An evening college completely at odds with overall institutional aims cannot really hope to attain significant goals.

Thus the evening college will contribute as little or as much to shaping the future society as its university feels an obligation to be a force in that future. The university's sense of involvement in the shape of the future does not guarantee the evening college's effectiveness, but absence of that sense makes the evening college's failure as a force all but inevitable. And, almost paradoxically, the institution's strong sense of involvement could relegate the evening college to a lesser role. As other more central and more politically powerful branches of the institution take the commitment for their own, the evening college could be left in a position it has too often held -- that of follower and imitator. Somewhere in between is the possibility of the institution's paying lip service to such obligation by allowing the

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evening college (as in the past is has often been allowed) to do what it would or could with little direction from the institution as a whole.

The educational problems and issues posed by many evening college deans and directors as most crucial in their future are those they will have to share with other divisions in their universities. If they are to make any headway, they will have to share them to a greater degree than they have ever had to share problems and issues in the past. They will have to share because the other divisions are themselves being cajoled, exhorted, coerced, and perhaps even stampeded into facing the same problems and issues. Meeting after meeting, convention after convention, speech after speech, article after article, book after book, warn not only those concerned with evening colleges, but college and university presidents, deans, admissions officers, and business managers of the changes being wrought in our society. They point out not only the impending consequences of the changes on the total and separate segments of the higher educational enterprise, but also the responsibility of each segment to share in and help shape the changes to the greater credit of education and the greater good and glory of society. Along with these exhortations and warnings go a variety of suggested "answers," "resolutions," and "solutions." That similar exhortations, warnings, and "solutions" are similarly directed at every segment of every level of education from the high school, through the elementary school, and down to the kindergarten and pre-kindergarten stage, is obvious. The entire educational enterprise is being made aware that it has a commitment to a rapidly changing society and an urgent need to become involved in directing the change so that it be for better and not for worse.

The foregoing is not meant to suggest that the responsibility of evening colleges toward educational issues or problems within their own communities ought to be abridged in favor of some "higher" responsibility to the greater educational enterprise. Nor is the converse true. It is meant, rather, to place a framework around any discussion of issues, problems, and responsibilities facing evening colleges in our rapidly changing society. It is meant also to suggest to those in the evening colleges who may be overwhelmed by the enormity of their tasks, that many of the responsibilities laid on their doorstep should rightly fall to other units or even the total university. It is meant further to indicate that some issues may be too large for solution by the evening colleges alone; that they will have to seek other university assistance. It is meant, finally, to point out that, even when evening colleges deal with those issues which they can and must face and resolve uniquely, they must have the commitment and support of the university if they are to resolve them satisfactorily. The fact of a symposium such as this, which is one manifestation of the need to find answers to the question of the "proper

role" of the evening college in the future, indicates the desirability of setting down some such limitations and framework both for discussion and action.

The general introduction to this volume sets forth the factors in modern society relevant to planning for the future of the evening college, the areas in which major developments are taking place, and the major educational issues or problems identified by AUEC members with which evening colleges must cope in the next few decades. Given these, I have attempted to take my task almost literally: to express my "ideas on ways to deal with or resolve these issues in light of the societal factors raised.... In other words, [I have asked myself] given the kind of world we will be living in, how would [I] deal with the questions raised by colleagues ...?" What follows therefore is intended as an exploration and elaboration of the issues raised for the symposium.

Finding Sufficient Resources

With or without the Committee's background statement, the three issues identified by the AUEC members are neither mutually exclusive nor, at the same time, similar in kind. Although they affect each other in significant ways, each requires a different set of assumptions and a difference in handling.

I would characterize the first problem, that of finding sufficient resources, as both the happiest of the problems, and as the one the solutions to which will go a long way toward resolving the other two. It is the happiest of the problems in a number of ways: to a large degree it is an "administrative" rather than an "educational" problem; it has many fairly tangible and calculable dimensions, such as people, space, equipment, and money; and the results of its resolution are most immediately evident. At the same time, this is the problem, more than any other, which the evening college must share with the total institution. It is the one problem which, with the possible exception of the Harvards and Yales, the entire college and university community has been concerned with now for some time.

People

Each evening college will find its problems and solutions affected and modified both by its own university and by its own community. Indeed, one can safely predict that the trend toward greater urbanization, greater clusters of population (the background paper indicates that in the next two decades 97% of people in the U.S.A. will be living in metropolitan areas) will increase the demands on the evening colleges for various forms

²Issues referred to in the next three sections are stated in Introduction, page 8.

of schooling. Similarly, it should increase the potential supply of teaching resources. As the rest of the university woos and increases its demands on the full-time faculty, and as the faculty, through accrediting bodies and its own associations (e.g. A.A.U.P.) pushes for a reduction in its teaching load, the evening college, on its own or through department chairmen will be pushed increasingly into a talent search in the community. Almost by definition, a metropolitan community derives its vitality from the richness and variety of talent its people possess. The evening colleges will need to attract that untold wealth of special and general talents and skills which will increasingly be available. Part-time faculty (whatever the traditional academic view may be) are not in and of themselves of lesser worth; it is rather a matter of faculty quality and of what is done to orient such quality into the academic community once it is recruited. One might even suggest that if many of the new recruits will not look like the traditional academician, hopefully neither will the programs and courses in which they will be involved resemble the traditional academic programs.

In addition to the more usual sources of teaching talent, such as business, industry and other educational institutions, one can point to two relatively untapped sources. There will be, in our new society, an increasing number of highly educated, motivated, and skilled women eager to become a part of the academic enterprise. Also, as figures clearly indicate, there will be an increasing number of talented and widely experienced people who are retired with their energies and minds still vigorous. Many of these undoubtedly would be able and eager to teach. These two sources of teaching talent have the additional attraction of flexibility in scheduling their time. As evening colleges expand their programs the availability of teachers almost around the clock will become an increasing need.

In these two areas alone the evening college can make a contribution to two growing problems in our society -- the need to utilize the talents of educated women in meaningful ways, and the need to engage and derive benefit from the aging.

Utilization of talents not usually associated with the academic world may require varied and intensive orientation, training, and supervision. This, however, would seem to be a small price to pay for the richness and variety such talents would bring. And if accrediting agencies, accreditation bodies, and traditional elements within the university question the propriety of using such people as teachers, logic, justice, and the exigencies of the situation should prevail in an academic setting.

The larger problem, however, in the search for sufficient teaching resources is not the part-time teacher, but the full-time faculty member, whether his evening college teaching is an

exclusive commitment, part of his contractual teaching assignment, or an extra-load, extra-compensation arrangement. Here, more than anywhere else, a commitment to adult education and a sense of responsibility to the changing demands and needs of the community on the part of the university are necessary. Given the total university's need for teaching resources on all levels, only such a commitment will bring about a genuine sharing of the problem and of the teaching talent.

Despite increasing demands for reduced teaching loads, there are, on every campus, those faculty members for whom the basic teaching assignments are simply not enough. They possess almost limitless physical energies, vigorous imaginations, and voracious intellectual appetites. Instead of fitting every faculty member into an academic Procrustean bed, universities should learn to recognize differences and to use the energies and talents of their faculty members more abundantly and intelligently. If additional financial compensation is one of the rewards of such increased productivity, this is not to be denigrated as being beneath the dignity of a university (or a teacher). Care will be needed to insure that only those who can succeed in extra undertakings and who have a contribution to make are turned loose. Much too often (when new projects, programs, or proposals are suggested) the voiced fear of the dissipation of energies and resources is only a rationalization against attempting anything new, "experimental," or out of the ordinary and traditional academic path. The conservation of energies and resources has too often been a banner behind which the academic conservative hides.

Simply to be free to exploit the talents and energies of such faculty members and financially reward them will not insure their use. If, however, one invites and encourages these faculty members to innovate and to participate in the formulation of new, exciting, different programs, especially those with relevance to community needs and societal demands, one is likely to engage their energies, their imaginations, and their interest. (Every evening college can probably point to at least one such program in its institution which owes its success precisely to such faculty interest and engagement.) The problem, in these terms, is not one of finding sufficient human resources, but of encouraging, developing, and engaging resources which are already available.

Cooperation

To have sufficient teaching talent, the evening college, no less than the total university, may have to look toward cooperation with other institutions. Inter-institutional cooperation is being carefully studied these days on many levels and in many forms, from sharing computerized administrative services to

joint graduate programs in the more esoteric areas of knowledge. If one recognizes that much of the future involvement of the evening college will be in finding solutions to community problems as a result of the new environments -- especially the scientific-technological and the urban-industrial -- then the pooling of resources by evening colleges in the same community makes good sense. The past history of educational institutions has been more one of competition than of cooperation, and although this may continue to be true in the future, there are areas in which cooperation is desirable and even mandatory, if the institutions are to fulfill their obligations to their students and their communities. Shared teaching talent would permit programs to develop and continue without unduly taxing the resources of one institution.

There are a number of such cooperative and joint ventures already in existence among evening colleges. One example is the Adelphi University-Hofstra University Liberal Arts Center, a program of non-credit, liberal arts courses for the community. This has been, admittedly, a modest undertaking, but it has been a valuable experience in cooperation and points to the possibility of other and perhaps more ambitious undertakings as future demands and resources may dictate.

Experimentation and Reform

Other sources of human talent and other ways of making more abundant use of existing talent will undoubtedly suggest themselves to anyone who cares to give some time and effort to the problem. There is, however, a reasonable limit to talent, and excellence in any area of human activity is a rare commodity. One must, therefore, look to other means to help solve the problem of finding sufficient resources. Such a search will inevitably have to turn to the areas of institutional forms and educational reforms, and to the potential offered through such emerging fields as instructional communications, learning laboratories, communication centers, and programmed instruction.

Matching the problem of finding adequate resources with the search for educational reforms amounts to making a virtue out of educational necessity. Each day brings new criticisms of higher education and each day brings new efforts to meet them. Within and without there is manifest dissatisfaction with existing structures, curricula, instruction, and even objectives of higher education and a strong desire to reexamine and make them commensurate with highest and best education. Either voluntarily or in response to outside criticism and pressure, schools have been examining and modifying their enterprises at an increasingly accelerated pace. The pace has been, in great part, in response to those exhortations and warnings about the needs and demands of the rapidly changing society, alluded to earlier.

At the same time, university adult education has become increasingly self-conscious and increasing attention has been focused on this area of higher education and on its special attributes and special conditions. This has led to a body of literature in the field which, in quantity at least, has been all but overwhelming. Among many others, this literature has been concerned with such areas as the conditions of adult learning, the goals and objectives of the universities' work for adults, appropriate institutional forms for higher adult education, and methods for reaching adults. Underlying much of the justification for special concern with higher adult education is the strong belief (much of it still the result more of educated guessing, intuition, and random observation than of real experimentation and research) that, as Whipple puts it, "The adult as student differs from younger students who populate the university." This strong belief is stated most lucidly at the outset of Whipple's pamphlet Especially for Adults:

"This essay is concerned with problems related to the education of adults. Implicit in its title is the assumption that there are elements in adult education which make it different from collegiate education for youth.

"Furthermore, it is assumed that a teacher cannot compensate for adult students merely by making a few modifications in his undergraduate course. In other words, adult education has its own characteristic values and its own special problems — and these call for the development of educational experiences which are especially for adults."

One need only remind evening college administrators of the literature, the "new" programs, the "new directions," and the research which have been coming their way and in which many have, to a greater or lesser extent, been involved in recent years.

While much of this concern involves new curricula and new programs, which more properly belong with the second and third issues raised for this symposium, much of it concerns the forms and methods of teaching which, in turn, affects resources. It is precisely at this point, where virtue and necessity can converge. There are no easy answers, but there are avenues for exploration which may lead not only to meeting the problem of resources, but also to more meaningful educational experiences for the adult in terms of the demands which society is making. Successful explorations here may also point the way toward solving the other two issues facing the evening colleges.

The Study Committee's background paper suggests that "The evening college, as a more recent addition to universities,

has a degree of flexibility denied the more traditional parts of the university." Furthermore, it can extend its function "by laying greater stress on its role as the innovative arm of the university." Given this flexibility and this role as innovator, the evening college can explore, develop, and experiment with a variety of forms. One evening college dean sees one of the major educational issues as:

"Development of a variety of instructional methods and techniques (large group instruction, small seminar discussion groups, and independent or directed study procedure) and the application of these techniques to appropriate learning content or experience to more adequately conserve intellectual resources of institutions of higher education and to capitalize on the abilities of students to permit them to achieve desired goals within minimal periods of time."

The background paper also points out that "The evening college [in some cases] could serve as the 'advance scout' in an area which the university wishes to explore in anticipation of future heavy commitments." (At Hofstra University, for example, The Evening Program initiated, with the English and Psychology departments, a series of large class-small "class-team" teaching combinations in basic courses which were then adopted by and adapted to the day program.)

Underlying the need to develop new methods and techniques is the continuing question of relationship between time in class to study out of class. Is it possible to gain the same or even a better education with less time spent in the classroom than has traditionally been the case? Is the tutorial, directed, or independent study approach more valid for adults than for younger students? What is lost and what is gained through such arrangements? How does the concomitant use of library resources to replace part of the traditional classroom experience affect the part-time adult student, who may have less time for the library at his disposal? How does one train adults (or younger students) to do independent study? How much will such activity free the instructor for meaningful education; how much, even if it makes for a better education, will it conserve resources, or at least spread the limited resources further? Will such explorations end by shifting the already thinned resources (including finances) from one place to the other, with no total gain? These and other questions must be asked, not to forestall attempts at experimentation, but to make the experimentation meaningful and to validate the results. Otherwise, we are left with superficial games to be played and cheap satisfactions to be won. Also, if other entities within the university initiate changes in these directions, they may do so for the entire university without considering the special conditions of the adult student. The evening dean will

need to be aware of and responsive to these special conditions, so that he, in turn, can be listened to and accounted for as the university considers any charges.

One special aspect of independent study (with or without tutorial direction) is the validation of learning and a level of achievement through examination. As more people study and learn independently, and as the search for adequate resources continues, the already rapidly expanding area of credit by examination (whether it appears under the rubric of equating credit with life experience, or credit by examination, or college proficiency examination, or advanced placement examination) will probably assume increasing importance. At least one state education department (New York) has already set up a college proficiency examination agency which is responsible for developing, administering, and grading examinations and for encouraging schools in the state to assign college credit for these exams. The federal government is considering similar examinations and procedures on a national basis; the Advanced Placement Service, the College Entrance Examination Board, and the Educational Testing Service are already in the field and expanding their services rapidly.

Here, too, are questions to be raised and issues to be explored. A session devoted to this topic at the 1964 AUEC Annual Convention revealed much skepticism, much concern, and many fears, philosophical and procedural. Nevertheless, this would seem to be one area where the need of the university to conserve its resources, the special abilities of students, and the demands of society can be brought together with educationally sound results. If this area seems to direct its attention primarily to the granting of credit, this will continue to be a major concern of universities and evening colleges. The need for benchmarks of achievement also exists in non-credit education. The only limits here are one's imagination and one's will.

Technology, Time, Space, and Money

Technology has had its impact on education as well as on other aspects of society. Thus, one of the very factors in our society with which evening colleges will have to deal can also be put to good use even as it is dealt with. The rapid improvement and increased sophistication of learning tools and their use, such as the various instructional communication (or audio-visual) materials, learning laboratories, programmed instruction aids, and television, almost demand that they be looked at both to improve teaching and to conserve teaching resources. How and for whom they can best be used, the cost of their use, and the educational implication of their use need careful consideration. It would be the height of folly for a group concerned with the impact of technology on society and the resultant demands this

society will make upon it, not to recognize the impact of this technology on the group and its concerns, as well as the opportunities it offers.

If, with all the suggested (and unsuggested) ways of finding adequate resources, there are still too many students facing too few teachers (or teaching media) at any one time, one must look to calendar revision to help ameliorate the situation. In its simplest terms this means finding the best ways of cutting the calendar year (to say nothing of the month, week, and day) so that the teacher can face more students during that given year. Arrangements in this direction have already been tried, and some have already been found wanting, but the evening college, with its particular, mostly local adult student body, could take the lead in exploring new time sequences. It might be sufficient here simply to suggest that the summer months have only been tapped superficially as educational possibilities.

This discussion thus far has not touched upon the problem of adequate space in the consideration of resources. Building needs of universities are generally geared to growth in full-time day programs, graduate as well as undergraduate. As buildings go up for such programs, it often remains for the evening colleges to utilize these spaces in the evening. There are, perhaps increasingly, instances of day colleges moving to operate around the clock, with a resultant squeeze on the part-time adult student. At the same time, the problem may be exacerbated as evening colleges move their programs increasingly into the day hours. Moreover, whether space should be primarily preempted for credit or non-credit programs will undoubtedly be a matter of debate where space is at a premium. Here, as in so many instances, the commitment of the university (as well as the evening college head) will loom large; and if the evening college cannot convince the university to build solely for the adult student, it should at least work to convince the university to consider the space needs of the adult as building programs are planned.

If space continues to be a problem one might well consider the possibilities of space outside the university setting. Space in industry (especially when courses for industry are offered), in libraries (including courses given in cooperation with the library) and in homes (the so-called 'living room learning' experience) might all lend themselves to meaningful educational settings while they help solve any space problem which may develop at the university.

One final aspect of the resource problem needs to be mentioned: that of financial support by the university. Many of the suggestions made will require outlays of money for planning, for pilot projects, and for evaluation, if they are to be carried

out in any significant way. Without financial support the danger is great that whatever is attempted will be simple expediency, with little chance to determine success or failure or the directions which necessary modifications should take.

Financial support is also necessary to pay teachers enough to attract them. Even the best part-time teachers in the community, who don't "need" the money in terms of a livelihood, will require added financial inducement. The money offered these people is a measure of their status and self-image, and in this sense they do "need" attractive salaries and stipends if they are to serve the university.

Bridging the Gap and Developing New Programs

With increasing frequency, newspapers are reporting technological innovations. Such headlines as "Research Too Aloof. Scientist Declares," and "Writer Tells Language Meeting There is Just Too Much Writing" (New York Times) appear every day.

These pronouncements are almost inevitable concomitants of national professional conventions, most of which fall between Christmas and New Year. Nevertheless, their juxtaposition here points up some real and large problems in "bridging the gap between the specialist and non-specialist," and "developing new and successful programs which enable individuals to understand and deal with the emerging problems of contemporary society such as urbanization, and automation; and so forth."³ Such headlines may serve to give a perspective to any discussion of the role of the evening college in helping to resolve these issues. (A small item in the January 2, 1965 issue of The New Yorker may also be illuminating: "Pencilled note observed on the windshield of a Volkswagen in a no-parking zone in front of the Interchurch Center, at 475 Riverside Drive: 'I.B.M. Emergency in Room 921.'")

The Specialist and Society

The specialist, with all the mystery and magic which surrounds him, has always existed, in all societies, whether as a keeper of the Delphic oracle, or as a neuro-physiologist doing research in chemical transmission of nerve impulses across synapses. There is no doubt, however, about the spiraling of specializations in degree and in number as our society has become more complex and more educated, and as facts and possibly knowledge accumulate in geometric proportions; even to the extent of showing us how "wrong" our previous information and knowledge were. Such specialization is a phenomenon of

³ Quotation from Introduction page 2.

every area of human endeavor, and in most cases is accepted as a necessary and even valuable adjunct of our society, whether the specialist is one who increases information and knowledge or one who is required to put these to use.

The increasing difficulties of communication among specialists, or between specialists and non-specialists, and the problems for the individual and society as a whole which such difficulties raise, are constantly being pointed out in speeches, books, articles, etc. (quite often by and for specialists) and need not be dwelt on here. Ironically, specialization has made possible the inter-relatedness of many parts which is so great a characteristic of our contemporary social order. This inter-relatedness, in turn, gives urgency to the need to bridge the gap between the specialist's work and understanding the impact of that work on society.

The Specialist and Education

The purpose of this symposium, as I see it, is to translate these issues into educational terms and, more specifically, into educational implications for the evening college (itself a specialization within higher education). An underlying principle which may well govern any discussion of these two issues and any search for answers in the entire field of education as well as in the evening college is that one must constantly sift from the accumulation of facts and information the organizing principles, which lead to understanding and meaningful action when called for. This has been pointed out many times in many ways. Robert Theobald, in the CSLEA publication, Perspective on Automation, puts it as follows:

"It has lately been estimated that the volume of information doubles every ten years. Many argue, therefore, that it will be essential both to lengthen the period of formal education and to continue the process of fragmentation of the disciplines. This argument completely misunderstands the situation. The volume of facts is increasing, but facts are what can well be handled by the computer. It is far from clear that the amount of knowledge (i.e., organizing principles) is also increasing at so rapid a pace. Indeed, an examination of my own discipline, economics, makes me suspect that most of the increase in 'knowledge' is only an increase in the private, irrelevant world of each discipline. I am completely persuaded that the hard theoretical core of economics can be taught in one semester to a reasonably intelligent high-school student. Everything else is either factual knowledge or irrelevant to the real world. Education has to help the indi-

vidual to think and to know how to obtain the knowledge he requires for any particular problem - it should not try to stuff him with facts which can better be stored by a machine."

Perhaps this oversimplifies the problem, but evening colleges may well keep it in mind as they develop new programs, new curricula, and new patterns.

In the future, the evening colleges will have to offer, on the one hand, increasingly specialized and specific training, and retraining for society's and the individual's needs; and, on the other hand, increased non-specialized, "liberal" education, for the specialist and non-specialist alike who need to understand the forces and problems of contemporary society.

As the evening college continues to offer programs, large or small, in various specializations, it should, to whatever extent possible, work not only toward organizing principles within those specializations, but also toward including the social and psychological implications and responsibilities of those specializations for an increasingly interdependent society. The specialist, who is necessary in our society, must increasingly be made aware of his role, through his specialty, in transforming that society.

A working illustration from Hofstra University is in order here. It may serve to illustrate the problems inherent in such concerns with the specialist and non-specialist. It may also suggest a direction one might take in developing new programs for contemporary society. (I have the temerity to offer as an illustration something from my own institution because I know it at first hand, because it is only in the working stage, because it is not offered as a panacea nor as an earth-shattering breakthrough, and because it may never come to pass.) There are many unanswered philosophical, educational, and administrative problems associated with it; one must never lose sight of such problems as any new program is developed.

Some months ago the Director of Hofstra's Computer Center and the Dean of The Evening Program began to work out a curriculum for a Computer Science Specialization within a Bachelor of Arts (not BS and not BBA) framework. From the beginning we faced the need to combine technical and professional training in computer work in its broadest aspects with a liberal education directly related to the profession. We began with the now obvious assumption that for better or worse ours is becoming an increasingly automated society and that the impact of the computer will continue to spread into every phase of our lives, such that an almost complete transformation of our society will result.

To justify the combining of computer training and liberal education we then wrote the following prefatory statement:

Just how this transformation will take place, what this transformed society will look like, and how it will behave will depend a great deal upon those who are involved in the transformation. Our society is already calling for more skilled professionals to handle the vast technical aspects related to the computer and to automation than are available at present. Programs to train such professionals and technicians at various levels of sophistication and competence are spreading throughout the country. Hofstra would be remiss in its obligation to itself and to society if it did not involve itself in such training.

If, however, the transformation is to be for better and not for worse, more than professional and technical training is called for. The very people who are to be involved in the tools of automation at first hand must be not only trained, but educated, as broadly and as liberally as possible, so they can understand the humanistic, political, social, and economic implications of this automated society they are working in and helping to shape. To this end we propose that technical training is not enough, that a liberal education needs to be combined with such training, not only for flexibility within the profession but so that the professional may understand the relation of his profession to society.

Without disturbing much of the "traditional" liberal arts (BA) curriculum, such as English, foreign language, history, etc. (this was left in for the development of the "whole man") we introduced the possibility of new course sequences in the mathematics and computer areas which would be better integrated with one another and lead toward a more unified result. (These still remain to be worked out with interested and "uninterested" departments.) In the liberal arts area we proposed related courses, both those already in existence and new ones to be developed, which we felt should be relevant to the profession. Specifically, for example, we proposed a year of basic psychology plus a course in social psychology; a course in political theory; a year of economics; a course in scientific thinking; and a course (possibly a year's senior seminar) in automation and its impact. We also left room in the program for other related electives to be worked out by the student and the adviser in terms of the individual's interests. Whether or not such a program is an "answer," whether or not it will ever get started, is not pertinent here. (Any administrator can immediately see the problems involved even if in theory it should be a most de-

sirable program; e.g., who is responsible for such an interdisciplinary program? Who designs and teaches the "new" courses? Whose "major" is the student?) It may, however, illustrate the kinds of problems evening colleges will face as they consider the need to relate specialization and non-specialization and as they develop new programs which will effectively meet contemporary social needs. The dimensions of the problems may vary with the intent and extent of the undertaking, but the problems of integration and interrelation will remain.

Society will develop new patterns of living and new patterns of organization which will call for new specialties, even if their necessary ingredients will only be recombinations of old specialties. These may be urbanization experts in paper disposal, geriatric political science experts, or psychological counselors for teachers of teenagers. The training of such experts may call for a four-year curriculum, a one-year course, a ten-week session, a workshop, a series of lectures, or simply a social hour. The evening college can and should be aware of the changing educational needs of its community and should make its contribution to its community by lending its educational expertise and support.

The Specialist and the Non-Specialist

The need to relate the specialist and the non-specialist and to develop programs which enable the individual to understand and deal with emerging problems still remains. To help prevent what has been loosely called "alienation or personal dysfunction" in our society we must not only prepare specialists, but also help people to understand the work of the specialists, understand the impact of their work on the social fabric, and understand their own relationship to the specialist, his work, and the social order.

As people develop a need and desire to know and understand the forces which surround them, so the specialists are becoming aware of the need to communicate about their specialties. We are all familiar with the increasing number of books and articles emanating from almost every profession and every discipline, written for the "intelligent layman," and designed (hopefully) to introduce such laymen to the mysteries, the workings, and the implications both for good and ill, of such specialties. To take one field as an example, scientists, (or writers about science) for all their supposed apartness, have probably made as much effort to communicate with the public as any other single group of specialists. The workings and implications of physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, etc. are all being increasingly brought to the attention of the reading public through such scientists as George Gamow, Isaac Asimov, Fred Hoyle, Harlow Shapley, I.

Bernard Cohen, Theodosius Dobzhansky, and others.

Such attempts at communication can be pointed out in all fields. This has two possible implications. One might take the position that if, in fact, such writings exist, the intelligent layman who is interested can find the books, read them, and come to his own understanding of the world in which he lives. Thus, the evening college need have no concern with this aspect of the individual's need to know and understand. The self-learner, however, has always existed; yet institutionalized education continues to have its functions. The other implication, therefore, is that, with the growing awareness on the part of people of the need to know and understand the forces in their society, and the concomitant specialists' awareness of the need to explain these forces, the evening colleges can utilize this conjunction and these materials to organize a variety of learning experiences for the adults in their communities.

The headline alluded to previously, "Research Too Aloof, Scientist Declares," referred to a "distinguished lecture given by Lord Brain, retiring president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to the American Association for the Advancement of Science." A few quotes from The Times article are relevant to our discussion:

"The typical scientist of today, said Lord Brain, considers the achievement of knowledge in his chosen field as the ultimate goal, whereas to the non-scientist such labors are only a means to an end. Scientists have revolutionized the state of mankind, he said, without giving much thought to what they were about."

"Their knowledge has made possible nuclear weapons, he said. Medicine, by conquest of diseases such as malaria and smallpox, has produced an abrupt and uncontrolled rise in population in regions already short of food."

"It was, of course, for society as a whole to cope with these problems, rather than the researchers, Lord Brain said. Yet scientists are a part of society and as such must forcefully educate the public and the politicians in the consequences of what they are doing."

"... It is clear, he said, 'that a scientific culture demands some scientific virtue in a large part of the population.'"

If one substitutes for the words scientists and scientific

in the last two sentences any number of words which would identify other professions or specialties, the dimensions of both the problems and the opportunities for the evening college become clear. (For example: "... It is clear that an educational culture or a technological culture, or a business culture demands some educational or technological or business virtue on a large part of the population.")

For many specialists whose work is directly involved in the scientific-technological and the urban-industrial environments, there are, perhaps, three educational implications. There is the desirability of their being educated in "the nature of urbanization and its implications for their profession" (as stated in the Study Committee's background paper); the desirability of their being educated in the implications and impact of their professions on urbanization; and the desirability of communicating this double relationship as well as the general consequences of their profession to other professionals and to the interested and affected public.

The potentials of the evening college concerned with new educational developments for imaginative workshops, forums, courses, programs, and degrees are as great as the homogeneous groups in their community and as the size and interest of their various publics. The materials for study are available in increasing abundance; the laboratory exists in the vast complex of an urban environment. Still needed are imaginative programming, ingenious utilization of resources, and awareness of the audiences for such programs.

The Evening College and Its Community

Before I get carried away with the vast new world of educational opportunities which await evening colleges, however, I need to pause and ask why the new society with its new demands should turn to the evening college at all. It might be well, as questions are asked about audiences (or students, or learners) to pay some attention to Kenneth Haygood's remarks at the 1964 AUEC Convention, much as it may have seemed nothing more than a jeremiad in a world of hope and plenty to many who heard and read it. In discussing the increasing growth in size and complexity of our society, he indicates that:

"The various great organizations (bureaucracies, associations, corporations, and 'multiversities') ... are the centers of decision making and the places where the organizational knots are tied and untied, binding together organizations that have common bonds of interests and then unbinding them when common interests no longer prevail. In these centers the organizations pursue the special interest for which

they were created and have become adept at getting what they want. They have learned to by-pass those who have nothing to offer them or who are not sophisticated in the art of tying and untying the organizational knots."

With this background, he goes on to "suggest that the evening college may be one of the casualties of the increasing complexity of society":

"Possibly," he continues, "the evening college has been by-passed by others impatient to achieve their immediate goals. Possibly during these frantic years the traditional conception of the evening college as the link between the university and the community may have become an outmoded concept — outmoded even before it became established in the network of institutional relationships."

His point is that people have learned to get what they want from universities in ways other than through the evening college. Furthermore, in answer to the question "what do the evening colleges want for themselves?" he says:

"If they want to retain what they now have, as well as attempt to develop new areas, then they will have to attain greater visibility by relating themselves more directly to the decision-making groups mentioned above. To do this they will have to recognize that because we have been in a period of great organizational growth and administrative change, organizations are at present highly inter-dependent; they cannot function completely alone but must develop mutually satisfactory working relationships with others who have overlapping interests. The evening colleges must also recognize that if they want to survive and grow they will have to become adept at stating their purposes, interests, and requirements to others in clear and simple terms so that common bonds can be developed and fruitful working relationships established and dissolved as the situation requires."

Haygood's sober conclusion is: "But no one is holding his breath waiting to see what the evening colleges are doing about their future. Everyone is too busy getting what they want as best they can with or without the evening college."

A full discussion of the pros and cons of the Haygood statement should perhaps be the subject of another symposium and another set of papers. For this discussion, his remarks indi-

cate the need for evening colleges to establish meaningful contacts and relationships with civic, political, business, and professional groups and agencies in their communities; to determine their individual and group educational needs; and to mesh those needs with the purposes of the evening colleges. Meaningful new programs will not develop in a vacuum. The evening colleges will not have a say in the transformation of society unless they know what is agitating that society and what its demands may be. With such knowledge evening colleges may then be able to give effective educational leadership and be an effective educational force in its society. Peter Siegle suggested that the evening colleges should take "the vow to stay loose and experimental." Shakespeare, perhaps less eloquently, said, "Ripeness is all."

Postscript -- Other Directions

This paper is intended as something more than a beginning (such a discussion has had its antecedents many times in many places) and something far less than an end. Each participant in evening college work will see the issues and their resolutions in different terms from those presented here, and will point out glaring omissions and oversimplifications. Whether he agrees or disagrees, what is important is that the colloquy continue. The evening college administrator (along with others in the university) must take time from his already highly overburdened day to reflect on issues raised concerning the future of his institution so that the future may be significant both for the institution and for society.

I, too, find omissions. Unlike others, however, I have the opportunity here to point some out. Without entering into lengthy discussion at this point, I would suggest that the evening college can and perhaps should play an increasingly important educational role (or several roles) in at least four areas not previously specified in this paper:

1. The whole field of integration, civil rights, and anti-poverty. The possibilities (if not the obligations) for the evening colleges in these areas are so vast, so all-inclusive, and so exciting, it is a wonder that these haven't become the sole function of the evening college in an urban setting. Obviously, all educational institutions are being asked to concern themselves with all aspects of Negro education. (I would recommend at this point, the December 1964 issue of The American Council On Education publication, Expanding Education.) I maintain, however, that evening colleges have unique functions to perform here, not only in terms of individual students but in terms of the social forces which are astride in the community as a result of the civil rights movement and society's response.

2. The problems of the aging. Our contemporary society, as C. P. Snow has indicated, will go down in history as the most humane society yet, and the chief manifestation of that humanness will be our concern for old people. We are, he points out, the first to be thus concerned. The old are ever more with us, and present, perhaps, unique educational concerns and opportunities to the evening college. The education (continuing?) of the aging, the education of those who minister to the aging, the education of those who are involved in and who affect and are affected by the aging, are genuine areas of concern. These will become increasing concerns in our urban and suburban centers as the number of the aging increases.

3. The education, re-education, and continuing education as well as the counseling and employment of mature women. Many evening colleges have already begun to concern themselves in this area, and AUEC now has a committee on the education of women. It is true that women are adults and that much of what concerns evening colleges in the education of adults also concerns women. I only suggest that there are concerns which are uniquely theirs, which may be educationally significant, and which would benefit from further exploration.

4. The involvement of the evening college in graduate work, primarily on a part-time basis. By involvement, I do not mean simply offering graduate courses. Rather, I mean giving imaginative leadership and consultation to the development of graduate work for adult students in terms of the emerging needs of society. Evening colleges have only been most peripherally involved in graduate planning; I suggest that it is imperative that they become centrally involved.

WHAT MUST BE -- AND WHAT CAN BE

by

Milton R. Stern¹

An invitation to consider the future even of so sober a cultural phenomenon as the evening college is an invitation to romantic fantasy. One conjures a genie out of a bottle and in accordance with how one feels at the moment shapes a cloudy or a sunny bubble that the next wind will blow away. The bubble may seem to reflect the substance of tangible objects -- of computers, jet engines, radio telescopes, teaching machines, of all the solid hardware of modern technology -- but it remains still a weightless bubble. Prosy as it is to say so, we must remind ourselves that we cannot know the future. After all, we do not know very much about the past of the evening college, a not unworthy subject for study but one that is much neglected in the United States. With some sense of inadequacy then, and thus with more propriety, let us arrange our minds to look at the future. But not too much of it! Let us modestly make predictions and estimates for a limited time only, perhaps the next third-of-a-century or so, carrying us to the year 2000.

Even so, to whom does that short slice of future "belong"? What professionals have been sanctioned by society to probe even that bit of time ahead? Academically, of course, historians own the past (or a good part of it, anyway) and from it they make tidy portraits of old confusion, while sociologists and economists range through the present, snipping away complications here and lengthening conclusions there, professionals all, working to the end of achieving a verisimilitudinous picture of people and institutions of this time and that place, and generalizing, generalizing.

But the future?

If sociologists seem also to lay claim to that unknown continent of time, they are not alone. Other social and natural scientists are probing too. Economists and ecologists are at work. Astronomers, of course. And biologists study possible plant life under Martian atmospheric conditions.

Who Makes the Future?

For all that, the future seems to be peculiarly the possession of governors and administrators, of those in control. The

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future is their business, it makes up the major part of their professional lives. Nor is this a modern novelty. A circular definition of a ruler is that he makes decisions; and decisions affect the future. It used to be that priests and prophets (sociologists?) laid claim to the future, but even in classical antiquity it is clear that rulers used them. To be sure, even then priests and prophets stood near the throne. The Egyptians amalgamated the roles of priest-king, and in Greece rulers concerned with dynasties and cities, with their own and their peoples' futures, consulted the Pythian oracle. Still today, the Delphic touch can be found in the person of those experts on reading the entrails, the opinion pollsters, who are regularly consulted by businessmen and publicists.

The bulk of the time of senior administrators in all fields is taken up with decision-making, which means not only shaping tomorrow's work activity for many people and insuring paychecks on the first of next month, but also concern about the pattern of employment and lay-offs next spring and anticipation of the growth of cities in the next generation. One could cite Whitehead who entitled an essay on the professional education of businessmen: "Foresight".

Evening college leaders, then, have both the mandate and the responsibility to look ahead in their field. But again, just as we must not be too rash about how far ahead we look, we must be modest and cautious in other ways. We cannot do the job alone. Because ours is an accelerating society, with colliding cultures within it, administrators (evening college leaders, particularly, as will be developed later) have to know more about more things that in a slower time might be left for others who come later. Thus, the 35 years we have chosen to examine are relatively a far longer period than, say, the 35 years between 1465 and 1500. (And in 1465, what would we have projected about printing, for example, or exploration?) It may even be that an implication of the speed of social change will be to shorten materially the working lifetime of administrators on the ground that they burn themselves out and events pass them by quicker than heretofore. Still, this would lose for society that increasingly important attribute, wisdom, which is the sometime accompaniment of age and experience. More likely, therefore, will be the adjustment already evident in education as it is in government and business, the use of group intelligence and resources to guide the future-oriented administrator as a replacement for more traditional ad hoc arrangements. One is aware of the dangers: "The camel is an animal conceived by a committee." Still there is the TVA as an example of major planning and the fact that Jefferson was helped by a committee to write the "Declaration of Independence."

Isn't it time we began to deploy talent in this way? These days people seem mostly to be portrayed as sitting about immobilized on an endless plain, everyone waiting for Godot. But the future doesn't just happen nor does it unfold in a rigidly determined way. No — people individually and in groups "invent the future," the happy phrase of Dennis Gabor.² Professor Gabor points out that since Aldous Huxley's Brave New World appeared some 35 years ago, optimism has been stilled and intellectuals have shown little taste for visionary views of Utopia. Particularly with regard to the imminent Age of Leisure, he says, "The intellectuals are aloof or take refuge in the problem of the backward countries." Strong words, but certainly the developing countries present familiar problems. Gabor's way of approaching the unfamiliar problems of the future of advanced countries is to pick up Sir Karl Popper's suggested method of "piecemeal social engineering."

"Piecemeal" usually has an unfavorable connotation, but if there is one area in which perforce we must proceed without a sense of finality, it is in dealing with the future. Our knowledge is piecemeal, wrote St. Paul, and even in a time dominated by planning, so may our actions have to be. What is important about Popper's method is that it permits us to get going instead of being paralyzed for lack of a perfect plan. One can't be sure that Gabor or Popper would agree to surrender the jurisdiction, but administrators would appear to be the likely ones to follow up the idea. Evening college directors, at any rate, seem a close approximation of such piecemeal engineers who, as Popper suggests, concern themselves with immediate means rather than faraway, Utopian ends. "The piecemeal engineer," he writes, "will adopt the method of searching for and fighting against the greatest and most urgent evils of society rather than searching for, and fighting for its greatest ultimate good."³ In a sense this is dangerous advice to give administrators because they have a professional temptation to deal with Means rather than Ends. They are likely, unless they make a conscious effort to the contrary, to anesthetize their minds with detail.

But we have come to somewhat of a halt in speculative thinking. The speculative thinkers appear to be marking time. Leadership and action are required. Interviewed early this year by the English magazine New Society, David Riesman touched on the role of Washington's "very bright, free-wheeling young civil servants. . . . They have read all the intellectual criticism, and reached the point where they ask, 'What do we do now?'"

² Gabor, Dennis, Inventing the Future, London, 1963.

³ Popper, Karl R., The Open Society and its Enemies, London, 1952, Vol. 1, p. 158. Quoted by Gabor, op. cit., p. 22.

The magazine goes on, "The kind of problem he envisages them wrestling with is that of how a six year old Negro boy who comes to a Northern city can achieve manhood. It is, in his view, likely to be 'not solved by jeremiads but by ingenuity and experiment — criticism as such has made its point.'"⁴

There is room for creative action. It is now the administrators who are the key people -- who must take the responsibility for going into action and going ahead.

Bureaucratization Comes of Age

Perhaps this is a good taking-off point for the major contention of this paper: As our society becomes more and more bureaucratized (using that word as much as possible in a descriptive rather than a pejorative sense), the evening college and university extension division will become institutionalized parts of the total educational structure. By the year 2000, this trend will have become well established in the United States, unless of course a nuclear war changes everything. But that avenue of thinking is fruitless to follow. Our discussion of the next 35 years is more optimistic.

"Marginality" has been the usual image of their activity accepted by adult educators. Their academic peers have customarily discussed the field as if it were like bowling, fishing, or going to the movies — pleasant, perhaps rewarding, but unconnected with "formal" education. Educational planners continue to patronize "leisure," and they extend their condescending benignity to university extension and evening colleges. To some extent, of course, university adult educators are themselves responsible for the absence of recognition. They have not protested the condescension strenuously enough and they have not proclaimed sufficiently loudly that those activities which are dismissed as "marginal" are sometimes pioneering efforts on the frontiers of university education.

But soon this will all change. As the world becomes more urbanized, over-populated and leisured, the signs are all that the various forms of continuing education will be closely and tightly articulated into a system of education which will be far more systematized than anything we know now in the United States.

What Must Be

Like it or not, modern life is bringing us into ever more organized social patterns. The process is accelerating. Because

⁴ New Society, 21 January 1965, Vol. 5, No. 121, p. 4.

we are already accustomed to the idea, we tend to be less aware of the developing details. It has been only one generation that everyone has had a social security number, but we treat OASI as a permanent part of the landscape. Just last month, the Internal Revenue Service sent me a reproving (form) letter, telling me that because it was automating its data-processing, it was essential for me to remember to put my number down on all tax forms. Many changes show that life is becoming ever more tightly organized around each of us into social patterns. Some of the changes make life more convenient and comfortable. About others, we have an uneasy feeling of intrusion upon privacy and individuality. It is both comfortable and essential, we believe, to be able to get automobile parts, in case of breakdown, rapidly in any part of the country. And it is, in fact, a necessity for airlines that seats may be reserved 12,000 miles away from an expected departure point two days hence, with both instant confirmation and a simultaneous record of the fact made at every appropriate office of the airline in the entire world. But to be compelled to the distraction of looking at films while en route? That is a dubious amenity in the same category as Muzak in restaurants, busses, and rail terminals. Nevertheless, we take these changes from the older way of life for granted, and already in 1965 words like "automation," "cybernation," "urbanization," "population explosion," and "leisure" have become threadbare. Perhaps in itself this is a journalistic phrase of the "buy, use up (or try to) and throw away" culture, but it has dulled our response to the central point: That our institutions are centering upon a new focus, organization itself.

Social critics -- wolf-criers -- seem more and more to emulate the fat boy in Pickwick Papers with his leering intention, "I'm a-goin' to make your flesh creep." Alarm itself has become institutionalized as a transitional phase into the new patterns. Can Cassandra change the future? or merely anticipate the gods' will? If we are to demonstrate foresight rather than a Fat Boy's relish for disaster, we must accept that certain broad social patterns are inevitable in the foreseeable future.⁵

The heading "What Must Be" takes for granted the further development of the industrialized, bureaucratized society, but does not automatically mean "Big Brother." The worldwide

⁵ Thirty-five years would seem to be about the ripening time for seers. Gabor quotes the prescient John Maynard Keynes, writing in 1930: "I think with dread of the readjustments of the habits and instincts of the ordinary man, bred into him for countless generations, which he must be asked to discard within a few decades Must we not expect a general 'nervous breakdown'?"

demand of have-not nations for industrial development is eloquent testimony to the advantages their people see in such a society — of comfort, health, of enough food and more. It is absurd that plump publicists in our country should tell hungry Asians how difficult things can be in a leisure society. All the world's people seem willing to pay the high social price — at least until, as with us, the dream begins to come true.

The question that may profitably animate our own deep and shallow thinkers alike is to reduce the cost — the human cost — of social change of this particular kind. Then we may serve as a better model. Thinking within that framework we may explore possibilities; within that framework we may best discuss the educational needs and requirements of adults as individual human beings in the leisure society. The dangers of the new dispensation to individual freedom are plain enough. Our limited purpose should not be with Richard II, in "studying how to make my prison into a world," but by following the piecemeal method to try to save the new society from becoming a prison.

The idea of education is itself the hope because education is always of individuals, even when it includes everybody. "Mass education" is a metaphor, administrative shorthand, meaning the education of larger rather than smaller numbers of people. It is true that education on a great, public "mass" scale developed with the industrialism of the 19th century. That is when the schools became the social institution with which we are presently familiar as Education. In this sense, education is a recent social invention — one which now has almost universal acceptance, not only as a way to achieve the advantages of technology for society, but as a good for individuals.

A purpose and short-range effect of Mechanics' Institutes, for example, in the 1820's and 1830's, may have been to transform illiterates of the preceding era into skilled workers for the new industries. But ideas lead to other ideas: The schools liberated the people from the grimmer horrors of the Industrial Revolution. Education changed people — many of them, enough of them eventually to change the society for the better. The trade union developed. Women were gotten out of the coal mines, and children were unchained from the textile looms and sent to school.

Once more, today, education, this time of adults and mostly the higher education of adults, will be called upon to see-us through parallel social difficulties. And this education will not be used as an instrument to achieve conformity (like television commercials), but will perform as an institution in a liberating role for individuals.

To think about what the evening college will be like in the year 2000, we will look at the larger picture--the interplay between emerging social forces and the whole educational structure. Looked at in this way, the relation between the evening college and the university will be shaped by the demand for a sequential cap to education beyond university undergraduate and graduate study. The demand will come from a new group of students who are also a new group of major consequence in the population -- the survivors -- adults of middle years and older, more and more of whom, having gone to college, will have developed disciplined habits of learning. Much is made of the growing numbers of youngsters scheduled to join the attendance rolls of American universities in coming decades. But the wave of 1947-48 post-war babies now arriving as undergraduates will be adult students in 1980 and 1985.

Three Generations at Once

The second half of the 20th century represents the first time that the traditional conflict between generations has changed: It now includes a third party. To young people and their parents must be added the rapidly growing population in later years. Education has had as a traditional social task to mediate between the young and adult worlds. From now on, in addition to making children into tolerable members of society, the schools and colleges must deal with younger adults and make them over into acceptable older adults -- not only survivors but contributors for their own and the society's good.

Education will perform this function because no other agency has the power, equipment, sanction -- indeed the will -- to do it. The family, which traditionally assisted in the phasing out of older people, has changed materially in two generations of emerging leisure. As the family has abandoned grandma and grandpa, hospitals and in particular mental hospitals have been compelled to pick up the burden of the ill and lonely. Much of it is unreasonable and improper, and it has become lately an insupportable burden. Society needs more hospitals, but hospitals need fewer older patients, those who don't belong there and who can and could be functioning healthily. Most of the older age group are appropriate students for adult schools and colleges.

The whole range of social service relating to older adults will not, of course, be expected of the schools. We can't give them love, and we can't cope with senility or earlier breakdown. Nor should we think of ourselves as rendering preventive therapy. But when societies change, the schools had better keep pace educationally.

We may expect all parts of the large field of continuing adult education to accelerate activity in, and then to be officially charged with the responsibility for, educating adults in their middle years to prepare for later years. In addition to community programs of the public school system and other social agencies, specific responsibilities will devolve upon the evening colleges and will change the evening colleges. Courses preparing for retirement are already common these days. These voluntary beginnings are taking place not only in the United States, but in Britain as well, where there has also been a growth of "social science" (social service in American parlance) courses undertaken by university extra-mural departments and some local authority adult programs. But more than remedial, volunteer work — examples of which every adult educator will be able to cite — will be asked for people near sixty. In effect, people will begin to retire in the third grade. In this new dispensation of a whole educational system reaching from cradle to grave, we will tell the third grade teachers to teach the third graders that they are going to be studying all their lives.

A new conception of the meaning and implications of the longer life will influence the whole curriculum. But the really active attention to the educational needs made apparent in later life must come these days in the middle years, and this is where the most interesting experiments will take place during the next 35 years. Furthermore, voluntarism will not be sufficient. Most colleges for adults (not so much evening colleges anymore) will have a legal responsibility in the framework of public education to teach adults on more than the essentially opportunistic basis they do now.

Equally, the adult students will be required to attend classes at levels and in programs of a character appropriate to their individual situations of job, leisure, previous education, psychological readiness, etc.

Why be surprised?

The public education of children became compulsory out of the social changes of the 19th century. The rapid growth of the new group of older adults in a new period of social change lays the groundwork for a compulsory program of education for them. More particularly, they must get into the pattern and rhythm of such learning well before they move into the years in which, inevitably, learning becomes less effective. In a time of mass leisure, society will have to say to its members, "You're dangerous if you sit around doing nothing with nothing in your heads."

The purists among us, and there are some, and a few pedants from other parts of the university establishment may be expected to argue that "It isn't education," or "It's not the school's job." Especially will we be told that "It isn't a university level activity, except perhaps as research may be involved." This last is the criticism typically levelled at a successful new course or program of activity done in extension, until another school or department finds it broken-in enough to want to do the work itself.

In the immediate instance, the educational task to be done has broad sweep and in fact encompasses the large area of activity already undertaken by evening colleges under the heading of liberal adult education. Even purists and pedants should be satisfied of the appropriateness to the university of the subject matter, although the pedants may arch their brows when contemplating the evening college as the appropriate agency for instruction. But they will not arch them for long, because the audience of educated adults is now for the first time taken seriously as likely students. Other parts of the university establishment will want them. Power lies there.

Yes, the new audience is inevitable. Or perhaps it is better to speak of the expansion of an already existing adult student body with larger needs in the field of cultural subject matter. But institutional organization and curricular details are far from as certain as our audience and its needs. We may have a clear, even an idealistic view of our mission, but the details need working out piecemeal, day by day and term by term. Having described What Must Be in large terms, we should now consider possibilities growing from it, so that we may determine which consort best with our view of the integrity of the field of continuing adult education and which, therefore, we should work at. For the rest of this paper, then, I should like to consider the kinds of programming appropriate to our adult students, perhaps now freshly seen, and also the kinds of organization both curricular and institutional that may be suitable in the new dispensation.

What Can Be

The remedial aspect of adult education continues, conceiving the word remedial in its broadest meaning; but the work of a university college for adults will be increasingly with the already educated -- that is, that group which has had undergraduate study and beyond. Who are our students today? There are some hundreds of thousands of (mostly) younger adults taking undergraduate degrees on a part-time basis; others somewhat, or a good deal older, taking advanced specialized work as refresher courses in their jobs; and others still with an average age well over 30 already taking extensive course work in

"informal" liberal adult education. This last group is the key to the future of the university college for adults, but let us look first at the others.

Part-time degree seekers will remain important members of the university, although perhaps extension schools may relax their jurisdiction over them during the next three-and-a-half decades (see page 84 for comment on organization). The program of these young adults will change by and large as the undergraduate programs of the university change, because evening college directors will have little chance to break through the traditional rigidities that have shaped these programs usually as blurred copies of "regular" day programs for full-time students. There will be some experimental programs conceived especially for adults, but as may already be noted in the few developed in the United States so far, they tend to appeal to older rather than younger students.

The idea of adult student, if you like, is getting to be one of an older student than heretofore, and special non-degree programs planned for the older student do not seem to people in their early or middle twenties to be quite the programs they want. Also, to be sure, they are not "regular." We may see a significant drop of numbers of students in this group by the year 2000, in the light of the changing concept of adulthood in the bureaucratized society. The university will more and more want full-time degree students and be better able to handle them. Whatever developments there may be in television education, closed or open circuit, will be woven into the fabrics of such instruction and will function on a minor basis as audio-visual aid of consequence. And that's all. Mass communication and "mass" education are not exchangeable modes of social intercourse.

As to advanced specialized education and training, usually programs for people with undergraduate or graduate degrees, these will grow and prosper, but they represent no special need for forethought on the part of the evening college administrator. Professional refresher courses have become conventional in university adult education. And it is interesting to note that they have become attractive to other parts of the university. In some institutions, programs in advanced specialties in engineering or science have already been removed from the jurisdiction of extension divisions. In others, sophisticated about changes in society as well as in technology, the extension school exerts useful influence in the shaping of programs, helping other schools or departments create them in forms suitable for mature students.

It is a modern commonplace that subject matter boundaries are blurring and shifting in response to the vast increase in

knowledge which has recently place. Older academic certitudes have yielded to more speculative and tentative attitudes. These latter have affected ideas, particularly about the larger categories into which knowledge is classified. Not only does the physics graduate of 20 years ago need a refresher, he needs a new conception about science altogether.

This development, hitherto largely present in the natural sciences, has now taken over the behavioral sciences and the social sciences. As the more conservative arts also feel the winds of change, whole new vistas of need and opportunity will appear for curriculum planners. What to teach undergraduates? What to leave out? Or to put the situation another way, the minor taken by the English major will, in future, be considerably more important than it is now, and much less conventional. Will English as a unified subject matter survive? Even to ask the question shows how university life has changed in the past 20 years. Education at the earlier level is quite as much in question. What shall we teach elementary and secondary students? And when?

How does all this uncertainty affect evening colleges? First of all, we have to keep ourselves currently informed if only on the superficial basis possible to busy administrators. Evening college staffs have the obligation to become more aware of educational changes rapidly taking place in all professional fields so that "updating" courses are not themselves out of date. It might even be worthwhile to make the matter of keeping au courant a regular subject at national meetings as well as locally in staff meetings of each evening college.

Second, we should know more about the changing disciplines to be able better to live up to the generally accepted role of extension to launch new post-professional ventures. We can't wait for busy department chairmen to come to us with their ideas. Readiness of temperament must precede imaginative programming. Third and perhaps most important, with an awareness of the almost incredible additions to man's knowledge, we can better cultivate the growth of liberal education in our adult programs.

A word more on this last point -- the relationship between post-professional programs and liberal adult education. Most specialized activity will lie in the areas of science, and even more of technology of one kind or another. But a knowledge that the human body is 98% composed of water and salts does not keep one from gasping upon first going into the Louvre and seeing the Winged Victory. Similarly -- or rather, obversely -- in the new society it will be important for liberally educated people to develop again what was, 150 years ago, part of the educated man's outlook, an understanding of science. The evening

college has a key role to play. We must maintain a flexibility of policy. Although they are administratively different, we must avoid a rigid separation between specialized post-graduate instruction and liberal adult studies. There is an interplay. Take cosmology for example. Before the last century it was firmly embedded in theology. It belonged in the compartmentalized area of religion. But now it has been enriched by a breaching transit through biology and astronomy and physics and astrophysics. Today with big-bang or no-bang speculations about the creation of the universe, space-time ideas become almost magical metaphors and a skeptical intellect can once more -- respectably -- believe in God.

Before looking directly at programming in the general cultural field, we may profitably mention one quasi-professional special field -- social service. Programs for both volunteer workers and advanced professionals have already become important in the United States and also in Britain. In the United States, programs of study have been added to many universities on a departmental and school basis. At present, however, there is an "explosion" in the field, growing out of the population increase and affecting not only the youth group, but also older people whose needs are even more obvious. Extension schools are busy. Job-counselling, leisure counselling, physiotherapy, occupational therapy and a dozen-and-one parts of the field of social service are being trained for in scheduled courses and special short institutes.

Programs in this field are a social imperative. Society, as it needs less productive human labor to supply its wants, requires more human beings to take care of other human beings. Social service, in this view, is one of the service industries. But it is probably the most important, and it is the most susceptible of being rapidly incorporated into welfare-state bureaucracy. This is happening now, of course. As voluntary organizations become less "voluntary," so will higher education be less concerned with volunteers. After a while, we may expect that the evening college will generally be superseded in this field by professional schools of social work and schools of public administration who will undertake the entire job themselves.

But not yet.

Who does the work and under what jurisdiction will, for the next few years, be determined by local circumstances. What is clear is that a rapidly growing group of educated middle-aged adults, at first mostly women but later both men and women, will want to find "useful" things to do, and in our consumer and service-oriented way of life they will naturally discover one or

another aspect of social service. These people will surely be on our doorstep.

Expansion in Liberal Education

So far the future developments -- in conventional degree programs of evening colleges and the professional refresher courses -- are clearly predictable in 1965. Liberal adult education is also an active area of extension and has been growing. We said earlier that by the year 2000 it will come to dominate university adult education. Fortunately, experimental activity, some of it deliberate, some of it incidental to our programs, can be called upon to help us plan. Some experiments, notably those sponsored extensively and in depth by the Fund for Adult Education in the 1950's and into the '60's can give us clues both to potentials and problems. More evaluations of the experience of several institutions with lay-led discussion groups, for example, might be rethought in the light of pressures of the oncoming period. Given the expanded concept of social service, lay leadership in liberal adult education may take on the lineaments of a professional activity. That is, it may become not an episodic "voluntary" activity but a fairly high status function, ultimately implying extended preparation as teacher of adults.

Another dimension of the experiments in lay-led liberal education for adults was the implicit expectation (if not outright statement) that it "had to pay" or at least "break even." But given compulsory attendance for adults, all the rules change. The idea of self-supporting programs becomes almost irrelevant if the schools respond as an institution of society to adult educational needs. Under these circumstances, liberal adult education will come into its own. Granted, naturally, that "compulsory" does not mean "uniform" -- does not mean the strait-jacket of a 1984 curriculum.

We have cited social service as a bridging activity between a work-oriented and a leisure society. Its popularity suggests a range of subjects that seem likely to be successful in the immediate future; subjects that interest the adult because they help to give him command over this culture in which he lives. It should be understood that we must give over thinking of liberal as opposed to useful learning. As we come closer to the mass leisure society, liberal education will be seen more clearly than in the past as being useful. Contemplation, made possible by leisure, is not a luxury but a necessity to human beings as more of them begin to live on new levels of sensibility. If this seems now a visionary view, it can become a practical one on a world-wide scale within two generations.

Sociology, anthropology, psychology -- the range of subjects classifiable under the behavioral sciences -- will dominate

our programs for some time to come. They have come up more and more strongly in the years since World War II, probably because they have been most articulate about the basic preoccupation of adults over 30 -- that is, the relationship between society and the individual. Certainly ours is an age in which this kind of curiosity has predominated. Man and God is no longer the question. Even sex is no longer the question.

Whatever the reason, evening colleges have announced courses and students have come to them. Introductory courses in psychology have been a non-credit mainstay for years. Advanced courses for the new middle class suburbs, when planned to the leisured concept, have been regularly successful. By the "leisured concept" we mean abandonment of the carbon copy of the departmental course in psychology, which tacitly takes for granted that the student is going to be a specialist in the subject and gives assignments accordingly. On the other hand, we don't mean the "kitsch-kulture" approach of a picture magazine. The most fruitful approach with mature students is dialogue -- education by speculation and inquiry. It is not an easy-going method, as some academic critics perceive it to be. It requires awareness of student as well as knowledge of subject matter. At its best it is exhausting for the instructor, though enhancing learning for the student. It is the only method that will work in educating mature students in the new society.

The post-World War II experience leads us to believe that art, too, will be important. It seems to be a better medium than literature these days to express the relationship between society and the individual, and we may expect the interest to be contemporary rather than historical. Taste is very likely to go astray under the guidance of mass culture mediators, but potentially, university extension courses can act as a corrective. Museum visiting, studio visiting, travel courses emphasizing art, and visits to archeological sites will all be part of the new curriculum. Innocents Abroad? Probably so, but better than ignorance at home -- and perhaps, who knows? jet-age charter flights may speed up some kind of self-knowledge as well as getting us into Athens faster.

A minor field in the past two decades of liberal adult education has been philosophy. It will continue to be so for some years, but then it will probably emerge with some vigor as a major field. Philosophers will have to re-invent popular instruction, probably using the interest in contemporary human relationships as the starting point. Here even more than in the study of the plastic arts, the audience will have to be persuaded of the "uses of the past." Of all the traditional fields of knowledge, philosophy as dealt with in adult instruction seems most staid and unyieldingly resistant to reformulation in the light of what is happening to adults in other parts of their experience.

But philosophy will recover, if only because the field itself is going to have to fight for its academic life and will reinvigorate itself in the process.

English and American literature also have been static in adult programs. Again new integrations with other subject matter and relations between the old and new may make them useful and attractive to mature men and women. While contemporary poetry is vigorous and can command large audiences, this is not true of novels, even when treated in "Great Books" courses. If one were to hazard a guess, one would argue a dated quality to the booklists. What was "great" a generation ago isn't today. Literature, however, is a field that is not likely to generate excitement for some time, because there are few exciting practitioners. Contemporary letters seem trivial to most literate adults and this may well influence their attitude toward the books of the past and their study.

Does this seem a cavalier dismissal of a field apparently embedded at the heart of undergraduate liberal arts instruction? Perhaps so. But perhaps it is a comment on the undergraduate teaching of English that there is so little carry-over to reading of literature as a normal part of everyday life of educated adults. If the cultural drift has been away from creative literature, English departments by and large have not made their field relevant to the present day. Adult programs here continue to have an opportunity to break new ground -- and the necessity to do so without much help from their academic peers.

Perhaps the most challenging field for planners in liberal adult education will be the sciences. Except for the scientists themselves, modern educated men have had backgrounds in the arts and humanities and have felt out of touch, if not actively hostile, to science. The generally accepted Two Cultures explanation does not answer the problem of what to do about two cultures. While every man feels competent in the arts -- "... I know what I like" -- every man also knows that a great deal of background is necessary before expressing a judgment in the field of the sciences.

Right now the evening college is disadvantaged in offering science education to mature adults. People now in their middle years need large injections of motivation (and basic vocabulary) before they make the attempt to achieve insight and understanding in the sciences, and their mentors need inspired classroom methods and high-powered persuasion. But the traditional dogma, in which the arts are thought of as "high" culture, is going through sharp changes not yet felt in adult education. Mature students in the 1970's will be differently oriented. The non-scientist among them will have had from the late '50's onward a different sort of preparation in the sciences. Even

allowing for the reality of temperamental indifference, people will be far more ready for programs relating science and technology to human relationships and social problems of the newage.

This new awareness of science, couples with the powerful force we have described -- man's deepening concern about his relationship to society as the latter tends to become monolithic -- is not the last word about trends. To those two forces must be added a third which will influence programs of the next 35 years: Intellectual life is becoming increasingly world-oriented. Germaine Bree, distinguished biographer of Albert Camus, once described him as the articulator of a "new international sensibility."⁶ "That was why," she said, "he was read so widely by intellectuals and others throughout the world."

This new dimension of common awareness, to some extent presently crossing barriers of west and east, interacts with the ubiquitous technology. The world culture of the future, if it is not to be an anthill technological one, depends to a great extent upon the speed with which ideas can move through human channels of communication. That is, the voicebox, the ear, the eye, the mind. Here we can depend only on fragile humanity. The mind, even aided by computers and pre-digesting translating machines, can be made to work only just so fast and no faster. Our waste today is the waste of not putting people in touch with each other. And it is to this endeavor that we should commit a large part of liberal adult education.

There is some assistance to be had in the patterns of the arts as well as in the idea that science knows no nationality. Painting is international today. So, to a considerably greater extent than it has been, is literature. We even see non-intellectual periodicals both in our country and others dealing with other peoples, other places, not so much on the basis of the picturesque but on that of understanding another way of life. These lines converge on new approaches to curriculum for adults. The meaningful word is "comparative." Beginnings have already been made in a scattered way, but the study of comparative culture is going to be a dominant part of intellectual life in the next few years.

The new fields of interest for education and the intellect will not only range around the world, but will also reach back into the past. Technology is changing the world with dizzying speed. There are only an estimated 44 condors left in California because the species cannot survive urbanization.

⁶ In a memorial lecture March 4, 1960, at New York University upon the death of Camus.

Languages are dying out rapidly, along with the tribal, regional or national ways of life in which they have a symbiotic vitality. The history of mankind, however, is a history of re-invention. The Greeks had a steam engine, but regarded it only as a toy. Mendel's theory of genetics came within a hair's breadth of disappearing unnoticed, and had it done so, someone else would have had to dream it up again later. Hence we cannot afford to let the past disappear without a trace, and in this sense archeology may soon become a future-oriented field of great practical value. To an enlightened few it already is.

The Organizational Trends

The changes we have dealt with imply structural changes within the evening college and its university parent, in their mutual relationship and in the relations of both with the circumambient society.

It was pointed out earlier, of course, that the word "evening" is already out of date or soon will be. Additionally, the relationship between degree and non-degree activities inside the school for adults will become more difficult to sustain within the single envelope. Well within the 35 years to which we have limited ourselves we are likely to see deliberate lines drawn between the two which will effectively make separate undertakings of each, primarily because of the division of the adult group into two, older and younger. The new audience of older adults, a great majority already degree-holders, will tend to overshadow young adults doing part-time degree work. The proportion of degree-seekers in the evening college will diminish as the new group becomes more numerous.

Other factors will tend to make part-time study for degrees increasingly classified with full-time "regular" study. Undergraduate faculties will want more full-time students, and with more eligible young people now available owing to the population explosion, the consequence will be "daytime classes" at night -- or at least the abolition of second-class standards. Thus, although at present in purist academic circles they are considered second-raters, the likelihood is strong that part-time students will become more closely controlled by dominant undergraduate schools. But part-time degree seekers cannot be discarded even by the most elite-minded of faculties in public universities (and remember that more and more private universities will become public). In the new structure which may rephase all education from kindergarten to grave, part-time study will probably achieve a new "regular" status, being endorsed as a valid alternative work-study path to undergraduate degrees.

Present relationships of the evening college with undergraduate colleges within the university are already changing.

There will be a further levelling by age-group -- young adults, whether full or part-time degree seekers being classified together and not under adult school direction. In more vigorous universities the college for adults will be officially freed of responsibility for degree work and left to do the other work pressing in on it. Evening college staffs will then be able to deal more fully with the exciting problems of organizing post-professional programs and general culture programs for mature adults.

A question remains as to whether all universities will regard such activity and the older students engaging in it as appropriate to the goals of higher education. The answer already given in this paper is that both post-professionals and advanced liberal education will become increasingly important. But this will vary from place to place. Ironically enough, it may be just those institutions -- Ivy League private universities -- that do not now regard adult education as within their self-image at all, who may do a great deal under the new dispensations. That is, whereas young people learning part-time did not seem to be "university level" to them, the new programs for older people will seem appropriate.

In general, we may expect age group divisions to prevail. Just as part-time credit work will be paired with full-time, so post-professional study will develop in loose tandem with graduate study. As discussed earlier, such learning may or may not be closely tied to the adult school of a given university. This leaves liberal education, which we have previously described as the sequential cap of the whole educational system.

Will liberal education for adults remain part of the university system or become separate?

The argument for an exclusive "adult university" could be persuasive as government centralization intrudes more and more upon the life of American colleges and universities. But the centralizing pressure will be to keep under control exactly those areas with which we are concerned, and if they are to retain vitality they should remain within the framework (given any option, of course) of the most flexible of educational establishments, the university. The evening college was itself years ago an adaptative invention. It will go through a sea change and come out richer and stronger, but so will the university. The pressures of society, after all, will be on the entire structure of higher education, and the continued relationship with graduates will be mutually valuable both to the individual and the university.

What must not change in the midst of all else is the independent role of the university, the only institution within the

framework of (democratic) society sanctioned by it to criticize and not be punished. In the bureaucratized future, that role in the United States will be even more difficult than it is today. Perhaps the British model of universities as "responsible bodies" is worth our attention -- supported by government money but free of restraint in quite a remarkable way as self-governing units.

This is really the final point and the crux of our discussion. Given the soundness of our prediction, people -- mature adults -- will need educational help to enable them to live as free individuals, benefiting nevertheless from the bureaucratized, industrial society. Some things are inevitable -- What Must Be; others are optional -- What Can Be. Given major use of education as an institution of society, not only early but later in life, human beings can invent a future for themselves in which the individual can be more free than he is today. First large steps were taken in that direction when the human consensus settled, as it has now effectively done, on education for everybody as a good. We are now at the next step, not only education for everybody but throughout life. There is no comfortable comprehensive diagnosis via planning for the difficulties ahead, but probably in the next 35 years, the adult school as the growing edge of the university can help develop patterns to preserve, even expand, individual freedom.